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Religious Communications.

THE QUESTION CONCERNING THE AUTHENTICITY OF 1 JOHN V. 7. BRIEFLY
EXAMINED.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

For the Christian Observer.

THE doctrine of the Trinity is so firmly established upon the authority of Scripture, in which divine titles, attributes, and operations are ascribed to each of the persons in the Godhead, that it does not require the support of any single passage, however clear and decisive. That which has been most frequently quoted by modern divines is 1 John v. 7 : "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." In these words the unity of the three persons is expressly affirmed; but there is a doubt concerning the nature of that unity. It is generally understood as relating to unity of essence. But some learned and orthodox writers interpret it of unity of testimony. There are three that bear *record*, and these three are one; that is, their testimony is one. The importance of the passage will, of course, be more highly estimated by those who maintain the former interpretation, and an enquiry concerning its authenticity must to them be peculiarly interesting. But it cannot be of small moment to any who are solicitous about the purity of the sacred text, since a doubt concerning a passage which has been so generally received tends to universal scepticism, till the reasons of that doubt have been examined.

In entering upon such an enquiry, it becomes us to lay aside every preconceived opinion, and to

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view the evidence on both sides of the question with the same impartiality as if we had no interest in the decision. We should beware, on the one hand, of rashly rejecting the word of God, and on the other, of attributing divine authority to that which may possibly be only the production of human fraud or error, regardless of the admonition, "Add thou not unto his word, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar;" Prov. xxx. 6. One of these alternatives is inevitable; either that the defenders of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7, are guilty of ascribing the invention of men to divine inspiration, or that their antagonists dishonour the word of God. Is it not then the duty of all persons, who have leisure and opportunity, to satisfy themselves that they belong to neither of these classes? There are many, whose slight and superficial information has merely excited a suspicion of the passage, terminating in a resolution not to quote it. To such persons it must be desirable to have their doubts resolved, and no longer to sit down in hopeless scepticism, which, as far as it extends, renders the word of God to them of no effect.

The seventh and eighth verses of 1 John v., as they stand in most of the editions of the New Testament, and particularly in the English version, are, "*For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. 8. And there are three that bear witness in earth,] the*

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Spirit; and the Water, and the Blood, and these three agree in one." The disputed passage is included between the brackets.

The controversy concerning its authenticity began early in the sixteenth century. Erasmus, in his first and second editions of the Greek Testament, omitted it; but being censured for the omission of a passage which was admitted into the Vulgate, promised to insert it, if it could be found in a single Greek MS. Being told that such a MS. existed in England, (hence afterwards called Codex Britannicus) in his third edition, 1522, he made the promised insertion. In the same year the Complutensian edition was published, under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes. This also contained the disputed passage. It was, however, omitted in Colinæus's edition 1534, but inserted in Stephens's editions 1546, 1549, 1550, and in Beza's.

This subject again engaged the attention of the learned about the end of the seventeenth century, and the authenticity of the passage was strongly attacked by Father Simon in France, and Sir Isaac Newton in this country. But the controversy seems not to have been decided; for of the four principal editors in the eighteenth century, Bengelius and Mill contend that the passage is genuine, while Wetstein and Griesbach condemn it as spurious. About thirty years ago, Gibbon, in his celebrated History, affirmed that the three witnesses had been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasmus, the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors, the typographical fraud or error of Robert Stephens, and the deliberate fraud or strange misapprehension of Theodore Beza. This illiberal censure of characters eminent for learning and probity, excited the indignation of Archdeacon Travis, who undertook their defence, in his letters to Edward Gibbon. A reply was speedily published by Mr. Porson, who, on this occasion, gave the

learned world an early specimen of the extent and accuracy of his critical knowledge, as well as of the perspicuity and vigour of his style. But the terms of insult and contempt of his antagonist, which are not thinly strewn through his letters to the Archdeacon, are unworthy, both of the talents of the writer, and the dignity of the subject. He who intends that his arguments should be dispassionately considered, and his authority in matters of fact respected, is guilty of great inconsistency if he employs provoking and intemperate language. Since the date of Mr. Porson's letters, some new and valuable materials have been added by Mr. Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, and his letters to Archdeacon Travis.

The decision of the controversy depends partly upon the Greek MSS., partly upon the antient Versions, and partly upon the quotations which occur in the writings of the antient Fathers. Upon each of these grounds, the authenticity of the celebrated passage in the first epistle of St. John is contested. It is urged, that of about 150 Greek MSS. of that epistle, now in existence, no more than two, and these not of considerable antiquity, are found to contain it—that it is also wanting in the MSS. of the antient versions, with the single exception of the Latin, and in the best copies even of that version; lastly, that it is not quoted by the ancient fathers.

CHAP. II.

OF THE MSS. OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

The original copies, which came from the hands of the Apostles and Evangelists, have long ago perished, and the oldest of the MSS. now in existence is probably not of a higher antiquity than the fifth or sixth century.

It has been observed, that certain MSS. have a mutual affinity, and appear either to be copied one from

the other, or derived from one common source. The three principal families are the Western, the Egyptian, and the Byzantine. The first were written in the Western Empire, where the Latin language prevailed. These have a remarkable affinity with the Latin version, and the quotations in the Latin fathers. The Egyptian or Alexandrine MSS. correspond with the quotations of Origen, who was a native of Alexandria in Egypt, and with the Coptic or the second Egyptian version. The Byzantine MSS. were in use at Constantinople, formerly called Byzantium. From these the quotations of Chrysostom are derived, and they correspond with the Moscow MSS., and the Slavonian or Russian version. Even so early as the third century a difference of readings existed, as appears from a comparison of the quotations from Scripture by Origen, with the quotations of the same passages by Tertullian and Cyprian.

The characters of these three classes of MSS. vary according to the different qualifications and opportunities of the transcribers. In the Western copies genuine readings occur, which are harsh, foreign to the Greek idiom, and resembling the Hebrew. But the Alexandrine MSS. studiously avoid what might be offensive to the ear of a Greek. The Western are more diffuse, and fond of glosses and periphrases. The Byzantine have much resemblance to the Alexandrine, which they even exceed in attention to the purity of Greek idiom. But they sometimes admit glosses, and mix Western readings, different from the Alexandrine. It is obvious, that a reading which is found in the best copies of all, or even two of these classes is probably the true one. For the goodness of a reading is not so much to be estimated by the number of MSS. now extant, as by the classes or families, which contain it; since many witnesses of the same class may often be regarded only as one.

Few of the ancient MSS. contain the whole of the New Testament. MSS. of the Gospels are the most numerous. Many have the Acts and the Epistles. The Revelations are in few MSS. The number of MSS. which have been wholly or partially collated, is said by Mr. Griesbach to be about 500. Of these about 150 contain the first Epistle of St. John.

Since MSS., from time and accident, have suffered mutilations, we are not authorized to conclude, that any of them agrees with the received text, merely because it is not quoted in support of a different reading—a mistake into which unexperienced critics are prone to fall. For it is possible that a MS. may be mutilated; and therefore a collator ought to specify, not only what books of the New Testament his MS. contains, but what are its defects and chasms.

Our acquaintance with the MSS. is very imperfect. Some have been examined only for a single text, such as 1 John v. 7.; others have been collated throughout, with more or less skill and care. But first collations are seldom accurate, every new collator detecting oversights or mistakes in preceding catalogues of various readings. Errors also arise in transferring readings from one edition to another. The MSS. are sometimes falsely named or numbered, or various readings omitted. Some MSS. have been printed word for word: these contribute in a great degree to the advancement of biblical criticism. The principal of them are the Alexandrine MS. in the British Museum, and the Codex Cantabrigiensis, given to the University of Cambridge by Beza; the former printed by Dr. Woide, the latter by Dr. Kipling. These editions possess the following advantages; they correspond line for line with their originals; they have the same abbreviations; and the words are printed in capitals, and not separated into words. But they are far from being perfect fac similes; for they

have but one type to each letter. If therefore any ambiguity exist in the MSS., whether from the fault of the writer, or the faintness or mutilation of the letters, this is not represented in the editions of Woide and Kipling. It may be doubtful, whether a letter be A or Λ or Δ, whether O or Θ, whether OΣ or ΘΣ; but, in the printed work, these doubts will be decided, according to the opinion of the editor. Thus, in the celebrated text 1 Tim. iii. 16, if Woide had not added a note, we should not have learned from his *fac simile* that the MS. was at all ambiguous. The doubt is between ΘΣ and OΣ; but in his page it is clearly ΘΣ, as it is indeed in the generality of the Greek MSS. in several of the Greek fathers, and two of the ancient versions.

Since, in a succession of copies, errors, whether from accidental slips or intended corrections, are multiplied at every step, it is natural to value MSS. in proportion to their antiquity. From one of the sixth century many copies may have been transcribed, before the fifteenth, in which the art of printing was discovered; but they are all of them together of less value than their original. The antiquity of MSS. is therefore of great importance. But how is this antiquity ascertained? In many the dates are inserted by the copyists; but in MSS. written before the tenth century this is not the case, and therefore in estimating their antiquity we are obliged to judge from the form of the letters, compared with inscriptions of which the age is known. This, however, determines nothing more than the antiquity of the hand-writing; which is not the only criterion of the antiquity of the text. An exact copy of an ancient MS. might happen to be taken in the fourteenth century; on the other hand, a MS. of the fifth century might happen to have admitted many readings, which are chiefly found in modern MSS. Therefore the date of the text is a more interesting en-

quiry than that of the hand-writing; and of this a judgment may be formed from its frequent coincidence with other evidence, particularly versions, and fathers of which the age is known.

The foregoing observations will naturally excite surprise, perhaps alarm, in the minds of some of my readers. They may begin to suspect that they have no authority concerning the text of the New Testament, when they find it to be derived from such various and discordant sources. If there are three classes of MSS. differing in character, as well as origin; if those of the same class are subject to considerable variations; if neither the ancient versions nor the quotations of the fathers are found to be uniform; by what means can we possibly ascertain the true reading?

In reply to this question it may be remarked, on the authority of the most learned critics, that, amidst all this variety, there is in reality great harmony; that few of the various readings affect the sense; and that none subvert any of the doctrines of Scripture. If only one MS. had been preserved, we should have had no various readings; but our text would then have abounded with faults and defects, with incurable faults and omissions irreparable. Of the truth of this assertion we may form some judgment by what has actually happened to some profane authors. "Only one has been preserved of Velleius Paterculus, and of Hesychius," says Dr. Bentley in his remarks on Free-thinking: "in these the faults are so numerous, and the defects so beyond redress, that notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics, for two whole centuries, these books still are, and are likely to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, when the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase, and, in proportion; the text, by an accurate collation of them, made by judicious and skilful hands, is ever

the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author, and is not made more precarious, but more authentic and certain."

"The real text of the sacred writ does not now, since the originals have been long lost, lie in any single MS. or edition; but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact, even in the very worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith, or moral precept perverted or lost in them." This strong and unlimited assertion is probably an induction from very extensive ob-

servation; but we are not obliged to rest upon the authority even of Dr. Bentley. It is in the power of every one who will consult a critical edition of the New Testament, to convince himself, that the various readings, generally speaking, very little affect the sense. I will take for an example, the first eighteen verses of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, which I select because they contain one of the most decisive proofs of the divinity of Christ. The principal various readings are the following:

Common reading.	Various reading.	Authorities.
v. 1. The word was <i>with</i> God.....	<i>in</i> God....	Clemens Alexandrinus.
2. The same [<i>αὐτός</i>] was in the beginning	<i>thus he</i> [<i>αὐτός</i>] was in the beginning	3 MSS. and some Fathers.
The same was in the beginning with God.....	omitted.....	3 MSS.
4. And the light was the life of men.....	omitted.....	Some of the Fathers.
— the light was the life of men.....	the light was the life....	1 MS.
5. In him was life.....	<i>is</i> life.....	1 MS. and several Fathers.
6. Comprehended it [<i>αὐτόν</i>] not	him [<i>αὐτόν</i>] not.....	6 MSS. and one Father.
7. That all men through him might believe.....	omitted	1 MS. and some Fathers.
9. That cometh into the world	<i>this</i> world.....	The Vulg. and some Fathers.
10. He was in the world.....	<i>this</i> world.....	Some Fathers.
13. Who were born	who was born.....	3 Fathers.
Nor of the will of the flesh	omitted.....	4 MSS.
Nor of the will of man....	omitted	2 MSS.
14. The glory as of the only begotten of the Father	The glory of the <i>truly</i> only begotten <i>as</i> of the Father.....	Origen.
<i>πληρὴς χάριτος</i>	<i>πληρὴς χάριτος</i>	1 MS. and several Fathers.
16. And of his fulness.....	For of his fulness.....	4 Ver. 5 MSS. and 6 Fathers.
and grace for grace.....	grace for grace.....	Several versions.
18. The only begotten Son....	The only begotten.....	Some Fathers.

On the whole, these various readings, though selected not from any single MS., but from all that have been collated, together with the ancient versions, and the quotations of the fathers, no where contradict the sense of the Evangelist, or produce any material alteration in the text.

But there is a further consideration, which proves that we have a much greater security for the text of the New Testament, than for other writings of equal antiquity, viz. that the Scriptures of the New

Testament have been constantly appealed to by divines of every description; whose opposition of sentiment, however in other respects to be lamented, has been so overruled by divine providence, as to furnish a powerful evidence in favour of the text of Scripture; since no doubt can be entertained of passages, which have been admitted to be genuine by all the best critics, notwithstanding the great variety of their theological creeds.

But it is time to proceed from

these general observations, to the subject proposed, and to enquire in the first place, whether the disputed passage in 1 John v. is supported by any ancient MS. now in existence.

This question is answered in the negative, by the general consent of the best critics. Indeed the only MSS. that contain it are the Berlin, which is a copy from the Complutensian edition, so servile as not to have corrected the errors of the press; and the Codex Britannicus, which has been proved not to be older than the fifteenth century.

But though no ancient MS. containing the disputed passage has been preserved to our times, yet if it can be ascertained that such MSS. did exist at a remote period, their evidence is not to be rejected. A Deed, which has been lost or destroyed, may be a good title to an estate, if the contents can be proved by competent witnesses.

CHAP. III.

OF THE MSS. WHICH HAVE BEEN SUPPOSED TO CONTAIN 1 JOHN V. 7.

It is asserted, that Laurentius Valla, who flourished in the former part of the fifteenth century, and was the first collator of the MSS. of the Greek Testament, found the disputed passage in his Greek MSS. But the only evidence for this assertion is founded upon his silence. In his *Collation of the New Testament*, in many instances, he points out the disagreement between his Latin and Greek copies, but he mentions no disagreement in 1 John v. 7. This is a weak foundation for the opinion that he was acquainted with the disputed passage. Perhaps his Latin and Greek copies agreed in wanting it; which is no improbable supposition: for we shall show presently, that it is omitted in the most ancient Latin copies.

Of the MSS. employed by the Complutensian editors very little is known, and their present existence is doubtful. They are said by

these editors to have been of great antiquity; but in that age, copies two or three hundred years old were considered as ancient; and it is the opinion of Wetstein, Semler, and Griesbach, that they were neither ancient nor valuable. They hardly ever consent with the most ancient copies or fathers, except in conjunction with modern copies, and almost always agree with the modern copies, where these differ from the more ancient. Because the Complutensian editors admitted 1 John v. 7. into their testament, it has been supposed that they found it in their MSS.; but a more probable conjecture is, that they inserted it upon the authority of the Vulgate. For when Stunica, one of the four editors, on censuring Erasmus for omitting it, was challenged by him to produce his authority for inserting it, he never appealed to Greek MSS. On the contrary, he said that the Greek copies were corrupt, but that the Latin contained the very truth. These words are of great importance, amounting to a confession, that none of the MSS. procured for that edition by the great influence, personal and political, of Cardinal Ximenes, contained the disputed passage.

The evidence in favour of it, derived from the MSS. of Robert Stephens, a learned printer at Paris, requires to be attentively considered. In the third edition of his Greek Testament, printed in 1550, he refers to seven MSS. all containing the disputed passage, except the words *ἐν τῷ ὁπαρῶν*, which he includes between the marks ' and ' thus ' *ἐν τῷ ὁπαρῶν* '. These are the only words, so included. But as no MS. or version, or quotation of the fathers, which exhibits the disputed passage, omits these words, a suspicion has arisen, that the mark ' is wrong placed, and ought to have stood after *ἐν τῷ γῆ*; in support of which opinion it is observed, that Stephens's semicircle is often misplaced. But, allowing that he was not so accurate, as to avoid minute

errors, hardly affecting the sense, is he to be suspected of an error of such magnitude, extending to a whole verse, a verse in which the unity of the three persons of the Trinity is affirmed, and concerning the authenticity of which, for about thirty years, Erasmus had recently been engaged in controversy against certain divines in England, France, and Spain? In a passage which had acquired so much celebrity from this controversy, and is of so much intrinsic importance, if Stephens had fallen into a mistake, it probably would have been detected upon his own revision, or the examination of others. A further argument that the reading in Stephens's Greek Testament was not occasioned by a mistake in placing the semicircle, may be collected from his Latin Testament of 1545, in which the same reading was exhibited in a different mode. In this Testament he printed two Latin versions, in parallel columns, which he calls the Old and the New. In the former, which is the Vulgate, he retained in the text the whole of the disputed passage; but, by including it between marks, intimated that some Latin MSS. wanted it. These are specified by name in a former edition of his Latin Testament, printed in 1540. In the new version, this passage is dismissed from the text, and the whole of it, excepting the words *in cælo*, are inserted in the margin, with a note subjoined, "*Sic legunt quædam exemplaria Græca*," by which words Bengelius supposes him to mean, the Complutensian edition, and the Codex Britannicus. But these do not omit the words corresponding to *in cælo*. The only Greek MSS. in which these words were ever omitted, and the rest of the verse retained, are the seven MSS. of Stephens, to which therefore he must be supposed to refer. The coincidence between this new version and the Greek edition of 1550, was pointed out to Archdeacon Travis, in the fourth of Mr. Porson's letters. "Upon adding the

text and the margin together," he observes, "they will exactly make up the two verses, bating the two words *in cælo*." This coincidence is so strong an argument in favour of the correctness of Stephens's marks, that Mr. Porson felt the necessity of making a reply to it. "If," says he, "Mr. Travis be so cruel as to turn against me the point of the weapon which I now present him, I must shield myself with Stephens's formal preference of the Greek copies, that rejected the verse, to those which retained it." But this preference is perfectly justifiable; for, though his seven MSS. contained the verse, yet he might collect that the majority wanted it, from the declaration of Erasmus and the confession of Stunica. Why he altered his method in 1550, and admitted into the text what he had dismissed from it in 1545, it is difficult to conjecture. Perhaps he thought himself authorized to admit a reading, which had been inserted by Erasmus, in his third edition, and by the Complutensian editors.

The argument in favour of the correctness of Stephens's collation seems to be supported by the testimony of Beza, who in his first edition of his Latin Testament, 1556, says of 1 John v. 7, "*Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti nostri veteribus libris*;" and of the words *in cælo*, "*Hoc decrat in septem vetustis codicibus*." In a subsequent edition, Beza changed the expression, *Legimus et nos* for *extat*, probably being conscious that he had said more than was strictly true. For there is great reason to think that he had not read Stephens's MSS. but only the collation of them. This may be collected from his preface to the third edition, where, after enumerating other authorities, by which he settled the text of his New Testament, he adds, "*Ad hæc omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliothecâ, cum viginti quinque plus minus manuscriptis codicibus et omnibus pené impressis, ab Henrico Stephano, ejus filio, et pa-*

ternæ sedulitatis hærede, quàm diligentissimè collatum." He does not pretend to have consulted Stephens's MSS. themselves, which indeed had been returned to the Royal Library, before Stephens's flight from Paris to Geneva in 1552. He only mentions the book of collations, which from his words appear to have been made by Henry, the son of Robert Stephens. The same indeed is affirmed by Henry Stephens himself, who speaking of his father's edition, says, "Peter meus...cum N. T. Græcum cum multis vetustis exemplaribus *operâ meâ* collatum, primò quidem minutioribus typis et parvo volumine....mox autem grandibus characteribus et magno volumine, adhibitâ quantâ potuit typographiæ munificentia, excudisset, &c." Of the two editions here mentioned, the small one was printed in 1546, whence it appears that the collation of the MSS. had been made prior to that year. Indeed this is confirmed by Robert Stephen himself, in the preface to the edition of 1546, where he says that he had then obtained MSS. from the Royal Library, by the help of which he had corrected his own copy.

After all that has been said upon this subject, the testimony of Stephens must be abandoned, if the value of that kind of evidence is rightly estimated in the following passage. "For my own part I declare," says Mr. Porson, "that let any editor affirm that he has seven MSS. of an ancient author, consenting in a certain reading, if a hundred MSS. of the same author being afterwards collated, are found all to agree in another reading, and to contradict the supposed seven MSS., whatever may be such an editor's general reputation for veracity, I shall certainly reject his testimony." If Mr. Porson means to say, that because an event is in its nature improbable, it ought not to be credited upon the testimony of the most respectable witness, his opinion is repugnant to the common sense of mankind. For very unlikely events

obtain a ready assent if well attested. The chance is very great against a particular ticket gaining the highest prize in the State Lottery; yet such a fact, when it has taken place, is believed upon slight testimony. Again, the chance that a die, in ten successive throws should constantly come up ace, is to the contrary, less than unit to sixty millions. If a respectable person should declare that he had seen such an event happen, the first conclusion might be, that the die was loaded; but supposing the contrary to appear upon trial, his testimony, I conceive, would not be rejected. Indeed, if it were true, that a single witness, however respectable, cannot make an extraordinary occurrence credible, upon what testimony could we be induced to believe an event confessedly miraculous?

There is yet another enquiry, the solution of which may throw light upon the subject of Stephens's MSS. If it be true that these MSS. contained the disputed passage in St. John, how comes it to pass that this passage does not appear in any ancient MS. now extant? Can we imagine that all these MSS. of Stephens have perished? This is highly improbable, especially as Stephens himself informs us, that he restored the MSS. which had been lent him, to the Royal Library at Paris, where they were likely to be preserved better than in private custody. Hence it is reasonable to conclude that they are still in existence. Le Long, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, relates that he discovered in the Royal Library, δ , ϵ , ζ , ι , four of the seven MSS. mentioned in Stephens's margin, indeed the very four which Stephens borrowed, as he himself says, from that library. The reasons assigned by Le Long for his opinion are not considered as satisfactory. However, as Simon who examined all the MSS. of St. John's Epistle in the Royal Library, and consequently the four which Stephens had returned thither, found the disputed passage in none of them, he con-

cluded that it could not be in Stephens's δ , ϵ , ζ , ι . Wetstein discovered a MS. which he affirms to be the δ ; and Mr. Marsh another, which he asserts to be the ι of Stephens, and both of these agree with the MSS. examined by Simon, in wanting the disputed passage.

It is natural to ask, by what means the MSS. collated by Wetstein and Mr. Marsh, are proved to be the same with the δ and ι of Stephens. Are these marks inscribed on the several MSS. ? No. But the readings of the MSS. collated by Wetstein and Mr. Marsh coincide, in a very extraordinary degree, with those which are attributed in Stephens's margin to his δ and ι . And it is laid down, as a canon of criticism, that a pretty general agreement, between any MS. and the collation of another, is a stronger argument for their identity, than a slight deviation is for their diversity. The reason upon which this canon is founded is the following, viz. that a faultless collation is not attained by the most accurate critics, and if it were attainable, still errors might arise in the printed copy. Whether from the error of the collator, or the compositor, Robert Stephens's Greek Testament is very incorrect, *e. g.* in 1 John v. 7, 8, out of four readings of the Complutensian edition, he has omitted all but one.

In verse the 7th. the Compl. ed. has $\alphaὐτοὶ οἱ τρεῖς$. But Stephens's text is, $\alphaὐτοὶ$.

In verse the 8th. the Compl. ed. has $\epsilonπὶ τῆς γῆς$. But Stephens's text is, $\epsilonν τῇ γῇ$.

Again, the Compl. ed. omits $\kappaαὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι$, which clause is inserted in Stephens's text. Yet he takes no notice of any of these three remarkable differences, though he professes to collate the Complutensian edition. Another instance of his inaccuracy is mentioned by Mr. Marsh, that out of 578 quotations from the Complutensian edition about one twelfth part, viz. forty-eight, are false. Therefore, upon the suppo-

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sition that Stephens's ι , and the MS. compared with his collation of it, are one and the same, a few slight differences between that collation and the MS. compared with it, are not much to be wondered at, while their general coincidence would be most extraordinary, unless they are derived from a common original, or one of them is copied from the other. But, upon either of these suppositions, it is far more probable that the reading in the Codex Vatabli is right, since it agrees with 150 MSS. than the reading attributed to Stephens's MSS. which differs not only from those which omit the seventh verse, but from the Berlin and the Britannic, which retain it; for these also retain the words $\epsilonν τῷ ἁγανῷ$.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE CODEX VATABLI AND MR. MARSH'S THEOREM.

The name Vatablus was found by Mr. Marsh, incised at the beginning and the end of a MS. in the Public Library at Cambridge, apparently in Vatablus's own hand writing. Hence he inferred, that it had been once the property of Vatablus; and as Vatablus was an intimate friend of Robert Stephens, he was induced to examine whether it might not be one of the MSS. employed by Stephens, for his editions of the Greek Testament. It could not be the δ , which Wetstein had already discovered to be the Codex Coislinianus, 200, so called from having belonged to Coislin, Bishop of Metz, in 1672. It could not be any one of the four borrowed from the Royal Library at Paris, and referred to by the letters δ , ϵ , ζ , ι ; for these had been returned, as Stephens himself assures us, "*relata in Bibliothecam regiam, quæ mihi precariò data fuerant* *." Of his seven MSS. of the

* Archdeacon Travis understands that Robert Stephens returned to the Royal Library fifteen MSS. and attempts to assign probable reasons for his returning not only the eight, which he had borrowed from

Catholic Epistles, there remain only two, the $\iota\alpha$ and the $\iota\gamma$. In order to determine whether one of these might be the Codex Vatabli, Mr. Marsh copied all the singular readings of the $\iota\alpha$ and $\iota\gamma$, in Stephens's margin, throughout the Catholic Epistles; by singular readings, meaning such as are quoted by Stephens from one single MS. Of these Mr. Marsh found twenty quoted from the $\iota\alpha$, and twenty-five from the $\iota\gamma$. He first compared the singular readings of the $\iota\alpha$ with the Codex Vatabli, and found not one of them; but of the singular readings of the $\iota\gamma$ he found all, excepting one. In James v. 7, the Codex Vatabli has $\varepsilonως \alpha\nu \lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\psi\mu\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\nu$, instead of the common reading $\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. But Stephens marks the word $\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ as wanting in his $\iota\gamma$, without saying whether its place is supplied by $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\nu$. Therefore it is uncertain whether the Codex Vatabli agrees with the $\iota\gamma$ in this reading or not.

Mr. Marsh further remarks, that of these twenty-five readings, there are fourteen for which no MS. but the $\iota\gamma$, has been quoted by Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, or Alter; and eight, for which only one, beside the $\iota\gamma$, has been quoted. From all these premises, he attempts to calculate the probability, that the $\iota\gamma$ and the Codex Vatabli are one and the same; and, after a long algebraical process, determines that the chance of their identity is to the contrary, as 93132.257461.542601.562499.999999.999999 : 1, or in round numbers, as 93000 quintilions

that library, but seven others, which he had collected from other quarters. But, for this opinion, I see no foundation in the passage quoted by Travis from Stephens's Responsio, page 371. *Postulant afferri vetus exemplar. Respondeo non posse fieri, quòd non unum esset, sed quindecim, relata in Bibliothecam Regiam, quæ mihi precario data fuerant.* The comma after quindecim, in Stephens's reply to the censures of the Parisian divines, is omitted by Travis, and thus Stephens is made to say, that all the fifteen had been returned to the Royal Library.

to unit. Of his proof of this theorem, he speaks with the utmost confidence to Mr. Travis. "If you are a mathematician, you will easily perceive the truth of my theorem. I have given so complete a demonstration, that further proof may appear superfluous."

It is a singular proof of the subtlety of the doctrine of chances, that so ingenious a writer as Mr. Marsh has fallen into a palpable mistake in demonstrating his theorem.

The validity of his conclusion must depend, not only upon the accuracy of his algebraical process, which I do not dispute; but upon the truth of his fundamental principle; an error in which can never be rectified by the most regular train of reasoning. Now he assumes that if, upon collating any number of MSS. (p) a certain reading is found in only one of them, the chance that it will be found in the next, (or $p+1^{\text{th}}$ is $\frac{1}{p}$.

The readiest way of examining a general expression is to try it in extreme cases. Suppose then that p is 1; according to Mr. Marsh, the chance that the same reading will be found in the next MS. is $\frac{1}{1}$: in other words, if the first MS. has a certain reading, the second will infallibly have the same. I do not find fault with Mr. Marsh for reasoning about probabilities, but for drawing conclusions concerning them, without suitable data. Because a certain reading occurs only once in ten MSS. can we infer that the chance of its occurring in the eleventh is $\frac{1}{10}$? This would be the chance, if we had a right to conclude that the proportion in those that remain to be examined, is the same as in the first ten. But since this is neither given nor proved, we cannot infer that the chance of its occurring in the eleventh MSS. is $\frac{1}{10}$. Such an inference, so far from being certain, is not even probable.

But notwithstanding the improbability of Mr. Marsh's conclusion, and the error in his first principle,

I admit that the facts which he has stated, suggest strong reasons for believing the identity of the Codex Vatabli with Stephens's ν , since the coincidence of their readings, through the Catholic Epistles, is much greater than could be expected from two distinct and independent MSS.

The same observation may be extended to the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles, in which the only disagreement found by Mr. Marsh, in the singular readings, is in Acts xi. 3, where ν , which Stephens marks as wanting in his ν , is contained in the Codex Vatabli. There are indeed two readings in Stephens's collation of the ν , in ix. and x. of Hebrews, which at present do not exist in the Codex Vatabli, the latter part of that Epistle having been torn out. But this is no argument against the identity of the MSS., unless it can be shewn that the Codex Vatabli was mutilated before Stephens made his collation. Mr. Marsh also examined all the other readings of the ν , in Stephens's collation of the Catholic Epistles. He enumerates thirty-four, some consisting of several words, thirty-three of them perfectly agreeing with the Codex Vatabli, the thirty-fourth differing only in one letter. In an enquiry concerning the identity of these MSS., the disputed passage in St. John ought not to be omitted, for it is found, except the words $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\upsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega$ in the collation of the ν , but not in the Codex Vatabli. Any single disagreement, if we could be certain of the accuracy of Stephens's collation, would be a decisive argument against the identity of the MSS.; but as we have no such certainty, we are reduced to a choice between two difficulties. Either we must suppose Stephens's collation wrong, where, from circumstances mentioned in the foregoing chapter, (viz. the celebrity of the passage, the dispute concerning its authenticity, and the agreement between the Latin and Greek editions of Stephens) that supposition is peculiarly improbable; or we must

allow, that the Codex Vatabli is distinct from the ν , notwithstanding a most extraordinary coincidence of their readings.

The arguments that have been urged in this and the foregoing chapter concerning Stephens's MSS. may be thus briefly stated.

First. Neither the MSS. of the Complutensian editors, nor those of Erasmus, nor any of the 150 which now exist, except two, both of modern date, contain 1 John v. 7. Hence it seems highly improbable that it should be found in all Stephens's MSS., collected as they were from various quarters.

Secondly. He returned to the Royal Library the MSS. which he had borrowed from it. Yet Simon, after a diligent search in that library, did not discover that verse in a single MS.

Thirdly. Two MSS. of the Epistles of St. John, which have been compared with the collations of Stephens's θ and ν , from an extraordinary coincidence of readings, are inferred to be the very MSS. employed by that editor. If this inference be allowed, the conclusion is inevitable, that his θ and ν had not the seventh verse, because it is in neither of the MSS. with which they have been compared.

These arguments amount to a very high degree of presumptive evidence; but great probabilities may be overcome by testimony. Let us then attend to the testimony produced upon this occasion.

First. Robert Stephens in his Latin Testament, 1545, says that some Greek copies read thus; Tres sunt qui testimonium dant Pater, &c. omitting *in celo*.

Secondly. In his Greek Testament of 1550, he includes $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ \sigma\upsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega$ between marks, and, in the margin, names seven MSS., in which he says these words are wanting.

Thirdly. In 1556 he printed Beza's Latin Testament, where, in a note on 1 John v. 7, are the following words: "Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti nostri veteribus

libris," and on the words *in cælo*. "Hoc deerat in 7 vetustis codicibus." Now if Stephens had no such reading in his MSS. how can these repeated assertions be accounted for? We cannot suppose that he intended to deceive, where, as Mr. Porson observes, he has furnished every inquisitive reader with the means of detection. And it is hard to conceive that, if an error had been committed in the position of his semicircle, it should never be detected by Stephens himself, or suggested to him by his friends or enemies. This however will appear less improbable if we attend to the following consideration, that Stephens returned his MSS. at least as soon as he had completed his edition of 1550, perhaps as soon as he had finished his collations. For when he presented a copy of that edition, immediately after it was printed, to the divines of the Sorbonne, and they required him to produce a MS. with which they might compare it, he answered that his MSS. had already been returned to the Royal Library. If in the short and turbulent interval between that conference and his migration from Paris, from which city he was driven by the malice of his persecutors, he had discovered in his Greek Testament the unprecedented reading, which omits *ἐν τῷ ἁγανῷ*, while it retains the rest of the disputed passage, he would naturally consult his book of collations, which would only confirm the printed copy; for, in those collations, it is probable that the mistake first arose.

To draw a decisive conclusion, from the above mentioned facts, would require no small skill, in weighing and balancing opposite probabilities; and there is one material part of the evidence, which, from its nature, is not easily to be appreciated, but by persons who have had much experience in the collation of MSS. I mean that part which relates to the proof of identity from the coincidence of readings. However, the best critics unanimous-

ly agree in the opinion, that Stephens's MSS. had not the disputed passage; and among these Mill and Bengelius, whose orthodoxy is not doubted, and who were convinced of its authenticity. But this conviction they derived from other sources, viz. the ancient versions and the quotations of the fathers.

(To be continued.)

ON DR. TAYLOR'S KEY. NO. IV.

CHAPTER II.—Continued from p. 158.

The Christian Covenant. Its Nature and Object; its Privileges, with the Terms expressing them. Remarks on the coincident Part of Dr. Taylor's Work.

IN coming to the question, whether the christianized Jewish terms which have been enumerated are principally, (I do not say universally,) to be taken in their original external sense, or in a spiritual, it will be proper to consider, first, some of the peculiar titles of the members of the Christian covenant. The first and most general one seems to be that of *disciples*: a term important, as pointing out the manner in which men were brought into the Christian Church,—by receiving and submitting to the instructions of Christ, and his Apostles. Hence the Apostles, in their last commission, were directed, to *make disciples of all nations*, baptizing them, and teaching them to obey the Gospel¹. And how far a spiritual and salvable state was involved in the right to this title is evident from the solemn words of our Saviour, when he declared, that whosoever was not ready to renounce all worldly comforts, and life itself, for his sake; whosoever did not bear his cross and follow him; whosoever did not forsake all that he had, when necessary, could not be his *disciple*².

¹ Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. The Acts relate the execution of this commission.

² Luke xiv. 26—33.

The *faithful* or *believers* is an appellation by which Christians are very commonly designated in the New Testament. It is of a more appropriate description than that just considered, as founded upon that peculiar act, by which they became, and continued, interested in the blessings of redemption, and therefore not in use until after the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ was more clearly proclaimed and understood; that is, not until he had performed the atonement upon which that doctrine arises. That this appellation is not to be understood merely in an external or corporate sense, such as is compatible with the most unworthy professors, even unbelievers in heart and judgment, and therefore implying neither a suitability of character nor the complacential favour of God; but that it expresses an individual, moral excellence, which God regards with approbation and will reward, must be manifest, I should apprehend, to all, who will consider the connection in which they usually occur, with attention and impartiality. Indeed, were they to feign the application of these titles to corrupt members, or to a society totally or predominantly corrupt, I doubt not that their judgment, their soberest and best judgment, would utterly revolt at the idea. But there is a difficulty on this subject, which, for the sake of truth, whatever it might decide, is to be lamented. The sacred writers apparently so little suspected that their meaning could be misunderstood, that they have never, except casually as it should appear, given any thing of a direct intimation of the sense in which such terms as that under consideration were used by them. It is an important consideration, if nothing more could be said, that every intimation which they *have* given, and every circumstance attending their use of the terms, is *consistent* with the sense now contended for. As the present is the first instance calling for this observation, it was

judged proper to introduce it here; although, as the reader is requested to notice, it will apply to most or all the terms which are about to be examined. That the word *πιστος* is synonymous with Christian is evident: but it is highly probable, that not merely a *professed* but a *real* Christian was intended by it. When Lydia, whose heart the Lord had opened to attend to the preaching of the Apostle and his associates, said to them, after she was baptized, "If ye have judged me to be *faithful* to the Lord, come into my house³," she can hardly be supposed to have submitted it to their judgment, whether she had *professed* faith in Christ or not. - When St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, calls Timothy his "beloved son, and *faithful* in the Lord⁴;" when, in the same epistle, he says concerning himself, that he had "obtained mercy of the Lord to be *faithful*⁵;" when he couples the *knowledge* of the truth with the expression "them which *believe*⁶;" (and knowledge is a term of very significant force in scripture); and when he calls God the Saviour "specially of *those that believe*⁷," it is surely a very equitable interpretation to suppose, that something of internal character, and the state of acceptance which belongs only to such character, is designated by the term in question. This interpretation will, I trust, be confirmed from the consideration of the primitive word, or of that act or virtue, the *personal* appropriation of which we have been examining.

The primitive *πιστις*, and the verb derived from it, *πιστευω*, seem to be perfectly equipollent, and, in their proper Christian sense, to signify an internal, productive, Christian grace. Either of these words

³ Acts xvi. 15.

⁴ 1 Cor. iv. 17.

⁵ 1 Cor. vii. 25.

⁶ 1 Tim. iv. 5.

⁷ Ib. 10. The different forms of *πιστις* occur frequently in the epistles to Timothy, and, when applied to Christians, seem to require the higher sense here ascribed to them.

may be so united with others of a negative or deteriorating force, as to express any gradation on the scale of meaning from nihility to perfection. We read therefore of a *dead* faith, which is as much, (and no more,) a real one, as a dead man is a real man. Everlasting life is declared to be the reward of faith in him by our Lord himself: "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever *believeth* in him should not perish, but have everlasting life⁸." To the same purpose he instructed the Jews on a certain occasion at Capernaum⁹. So likewise, when he gave his final commission to the apostles, he declared, "he that *believeth* and is baptized shall be saved¹⁰." Indeed, the expressions continually recurring as spoken by our Saviour to, or respecting, those who applied to him, "Be it to thee according to thy faith," "great is thy faith," "thy faith hath saved thee." "I have not seen so great faith, no, not in Israel," &c. &c. sufficiently prove, that a religious and operative principle is designed by that term. This is still farther evident from the distinction which is made by our Lord between mere profession, or hypocrisy, and a real faith: "not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," (a pretty strong profession is expressed by these words), "shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven¹¹." After the death and ascension of the Son of God, faith, in the more restricted sense, as it respects him, and the propitiation which he was made for our sins, was published and inculcated with increasing clearness. And, as if to establish, in the strongest manner, the holy nature of real faith, and its distinction from insincere profes-

sion, one of the first transactions which occurred in the internal government of the newly formed Church, was the detection and severe punishment of an instance of hypocrisy¹². This was an *act*; and a solemn *declaration* to the same purpose was made respecting Simon the magician, who, in the improper and unusual sense of mere profession, hypocritical, as it appeared in the present case, is said to have "*believed*," but who was nevertheless pronounced to be "in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity¹³." Accordingly, on the very next application for admission into the Church by baptism recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, the person to whom the application was made, Philip, replied, "if thou *believeth with all thine heart*, thou mayest," i. e. be baptized¹⁴. When the first fruits of the gentiles were converted, St. Peter expressed the nature of their faith, by saying, that God put no difference between them and the Jews, "*purifying their hearts by faith*¹⁵." In the epistle to the Romans faith is principally considered with a restriction to its office in the affair of justification, that is, as separate from all respect to works, which nevertheless are its necessary fruits, when real, and salvific. The exclusion therefore of these works, *as justifying*, might be interpreted as an exclusion of their very *existence*: an inference which the Apostle has as little guarded against as he appears to have thought of. The parallelisms which, to a certain degree, exist between systems the most discordant or even opposite in their distinguishing character, often render a term equally susceptible of interpretations which belong to very different hypotheses. On this subject, however, we shall have more to say hereafter. The Apostle, nevertheless, has given a pretty decisive indication in this very epistle, of the sterling and spiritual quality

⁸ The Diatessarons, § 21. ⁹ § 65.

¹⁰ § 152.

¹¹ § 36. The Sermon on the Mount. See likewise the accusations of the Pharisees, &c. for their hypocrisy, § 116.

¹² Acts v.

¹³ Ibid. viii. 9—23.

¹⁴ Ibid. 27—28.

¹⁵ Ibid. xvi. 9.

which he considered as belonging to faith, when he writes, "if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt *believe in thine heart*, that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be *saved*. For *with the heart* man *believeth* unto righteousness," (justification,) "and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation¹⁶." In his epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul represents *that* faith alone as available in Christ, "which *worketh by love*¹⁷." And in that to the Ephesians, he plainly intimates that it is by faith that Christ dwells in the hearts of believers¹⁸." The Apostle tells the Colossians, that they shall be presented holy, and unblameable, and unreprouvable in the sight of God; if they "*continue in the faith grounded and settled*:" he rejoices in beholding the *steadfastness of their faith in Christ*, and exhorts them still to be *established in the faith*¹⁹. The Thessalonians are exhorted to put on the *breastplate of faith* and love: he makes their *exceeding progress in faith* matter of thanksgiving to God, prays that God would fulfil in them the *work of faith with power*, and represents them as chosen to *salvation through belief of the truth*, as well as sanctification of the spirit²⁰. This Apostle, in the view of his approaching departure, exults in having *kept the faith*, and in having the prospect of its eternal reward before him²¹. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says, "we are" "of them that *believe, to the saving of the soul*²²." And then he immediately exemplifies the nature and effects of faith, as they were seen in different characters, from the creation, in the Abrahamic and Jacobæan lines²³.

¹⁶ Rom. x. 9, 10. It deserves to be remarked, that in this passage even *confession*, which necessarily implies nothing more than an outward act, must be taken in a spiritual, effective sense.

¹⁷ v. 6.

¹⁸ iii. 17.

¹⁹ i. 22, 23.; ii. 5—7.

²⁰ 1 Thess. v. 8.; 2 Thess. i. 3—11, and ii. 13.

²¹ 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

²² x. 39.

²³ xi.

The faith of St. James is a spiritual operative one²⁴. St. Peter says of the Christians whom he is addressing, that they "are kept by the power of God *through faith unto salvation*²⁵." And St. Jude exhorts those to whom *he* wrote, to build up themselves in their "*most holy faith*²⁶." If the expressions themselves on this subject did not decide, as I think it very evident they do, in favour of the higher meaning contended for, the *anxiety* always discovered in the Scripture concerning it utterly forbid the idea, that faith, in the predominant acceptance of the New Testament, is to be understood in a sense compatible with those, who nevertheless, and in actual possession of this faith, may finally perish. Both the present importance of this discussion, and the purpose which it will hereafter serve, must excuse what would otherwise be its disproportionate length.

We now proceed to the third *peculiar* denomination of Christians, *spiritual*. This term is but sparingly used, perhaps because the idea contained in it was thought to be sufficiently expressed by some others, particularly by that just considered. "He that is *spiritual* judgeth all things." "And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto *spiritual*, but as unto *carnal*." "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are *spiritual*, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted²⁷." This term, however, is important, because it is evidently founded upon the assumption, that every real Christian possesses, and is governed by the Holy Spirit. That this is the case with respect to the ordinary or sanctifying operations of that Divine Being, according to the representation of Scripture, can be controverted by none, who have any acquaintance with the sacred oracles of the new covenant.

²⁴ ii.

²⁵ 1 Pet. i. 5.

²⁶ Ver. 20.

²⁷ 1 Cor. ii. 15.; iii. 1.; Gal. vi. 1.

Let any one read the former part of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and consider, first, the opposition between flesh and the spirit, then the assertion, that "if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Let him read the account of "*the fruit of the spirit*" at the latter end of the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. Let him notice how familiarly St. John says, "hereby we know that he abideth in us, by *the spirit which he hath given us*"²⁸."

These *original*, peculiar, and significant titles will furnish us with some kind of clue to the proper interpretation of those *borrowed* terms which it is a principal part of our design to explain.

(To be continued.)

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE following remarks were loosely thrown together on reading the paper of your correspondent R. S. in your number for January, p. 12. If you judge them pertinent to the subject, the great practical importance of which will, I think, fully justify to your readers its protracted discussion, you will favour them, perhaps, with an early insertion. I might have moulded them into a more connected and elaborate form, but not discerning any advantage that would result from thus shaping them afresh, I venture to send them to you in their original dress, as they spontaneously offered themselves to my own thoughts, on the perusal of the paper alluded to.

The question about the sinfulness of anger seems in great measure to hinge upon the meaning of the word. If anger means a decided disapprobation of another's conduct, expressed by words and deeds, whether suited to the occasion or not; anger in itself cannot be sinful, unless it be sinful, decidedly to disapprove of what is evil, and to shew that disapprobation by words and

actions, according to our situation in the family, the Church, or the community. But if anger *exclusively* means, that state of mind and heart, by which the irritated passions overpower reason and conscience, and urge a man to express his displeasure by inordinate, peevish, and irrational words and actions; or if anger is supposed necessarily to imply any thing inconsistent with cordial good-will and benevolence to the persons concerned; it must always be sinful. A parent can never be angry with his child without sin, if irritable passions are indulged, and any means are used to express disapprobation, such alone excepted as are wisely suited to promote the real good of the child. But a judge may shew his disapprobation of a murderer's conduct by words and actions, not inconsistent indeed with general benevolence, or good-will to the murderer's soul, but which are calculated to destroy the murderer as to this world, whatever may be the consequence as to the next; and yet his disapprobation is neither sinful in itself, nor in its effects.

They who speak of anger against an individual as incompatible with love, seem to forget that love to an offending individual may imply disregard to the good of numbers, and be incompatible with general benevolence, and especially with love to the household of faith; as Eli's love to his sons, and David's love to Absalom. And they who speak as if it were but once mentioned that our Lord was angry, have not accurately read the Gospels. The word *displeased* (*ὀργανκτῆσε*) is indeed used in the following passage, but certainly it means *anger* in the strongest sense, except irrational passion be exclusively intended by that term; (Mark x. 14.) The same word occurs again at the 41st verse of the same chapter, where it is said, that "the disciples were much displeased with James and John." But without resting the argument on verbal criticisms: did not our

²⁸ 1 John iii. 24.; and iv. 13.

Saviour express his decided and even indignant disapprobation on several occasions, by most emphatical language, against the Scribes and Pharisees; (Matt. xv. 3—14. xvi. 4. xxiii. 13—33. Luke xi. 39—54.) and even against the disciples; (Mark viii. 17—21—33. Luke xxiv. 25.) and indeed in many other places? There was a special reason why our Lord expressed no anger during his personal sufferings. He was wounded for our transgressions, and it was predicted that he should be led as a lamb to the slaughter.

“The word *ἐμὲναι*, implies the signification of anger and vehement commotion, with which we threaten any one, &c.” (Leigh.) Yet this word is repeatedly used concerning Christ. (Matt. ix. 30. Mark i. 43. John xi. 33—38.)

To suppose that Mark, thinking in Hebrew, but writing in Greek, could not find a suitable word to express his idea, but in his confusion used one which implied sin in his Lord, seems inconsistent with the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. If neither Mark, nor Peter, who is generally supposed to have revised his Gospel, was of himself capable of distinguishing in *Greek* between *grief* and *anger*; surely the spirit of inspiration, as superintending the sacred writers, would in this (if in any case) have interposed, to prevent the disciple from imputing sin to his Lord, and misleading all through successive generations, who desired to imitate his example!

“Be not angry without cause.” “Be angry and sin not.” “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.” “Be slow to anger.” “Love is not easily provoked.” Can you find any thing like this about pride, or avarice, or sensual lusts? Be not proud without cause; be proud and sin not; let not the sun go down upon your pride; be slow to pride; love is not easily made proud. Be not covetous without cause, &c. Be not intemperate without cause, &c. The absurdity of this is manifest;

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whence then is the difference? Because there may be a sufficient cause for anger, though not for pride, avarice, drunkenness, or fornication. Eve ought to have been angry at the proposal of the serpent: Adam at the proposal of Eve: and each ought to have said, “Get thee behind me, Satan,” as Christ did to Peter; or to have answered as Peter did to Simon Magus. Though anger in us, poor fallen creatures, is perhaps never unmixed with some degree of selfish and evil passions, and these generally predominate; yet this is the effect of our depravity, to be counteracted by divine grace. But were we as holy as the Saviour; we should indeed be slow to anger, and ready to forgive, and there would be no mixture of selfish and malignant passions in our displeasure; but we should continually find occasions suited to excite a holy indignation against sin and those who commit it, and to express that feeling in different ways, as magistrates, ministers, parents, masters, &c., yet with the most entire good-will, and the most tender compassion, for those against whom we thus manifested our displeasure, and often with peculiarly tender affection for them.

To suppose, that those who contend that anger is not sinful *per se*, but in the *degree*, and the *manner in which it is expressed*, mean, that we may be angry at *sin* and not at *sinners*, is at least a mistake of their meaning: but we may be angry at the crime, and at the criminal on that account, without ill will, nay, without any thing inconsistent with the warmest affection; as every one must know, who ever felt and expressed decided disapprobation of the misconduct of a dearly beloved wife or child. Indeed, so far is the displeasure shewn on such occasions from being inconsistent with love, that it naturally flows from it, and bears a strict proportion to it. We feel indifferent towards that behaviour in a servant, which would awaken

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our indignation in a child. Wherefore? Because we love the child more than the servant.

The dangers on the side of anger make a strong impression, and very justly, on the mind of R. S.; but is there no danger on the other side? Are there no such things as cowardice and indolence assuming the guise of meekness? Do not all the corrupt propensities of our nature need correcting? Do not some want stimulating to action and decision, while others need a curb and restraint? Is not a Nehemiah in some cases as suited to reform a corrupt Church as an Ezra, who, though perhaps more amiable, was too timid? Who, looking at our Lord's example, and remembering that Stephen, and Peter, and Paul, were filled with the Holy Ghost, will deny that they acted right in their most decided language and conduct against sinners? Yet who would not call it anger in any of us?

The Socinians and others have often attempted to explain away the scriptural language about the divine anger and vengeance, in order, as it appears, to shake off the fear of future, at least of eternal, punishment. We should be careful, therefore, not to concede in this respect. The language of Scripture is peculiarly emphatical and varied on this subject; and there are, perhaps, an

hundred places, where anger is ascribed to God, to one where he is spoken of as *repenting*. And, indeed, how can we conceive of a moral governor, who expresses no decided disapprobation of the crimes by which his subjects injure and destroy one another? Is he *love*? But partiality to criminals, which swallows up general benevolence, is incompatible with this character.

To sum up the argument. "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Every part of our conduct, one towards another, is lawful or unlawful, right or wrong, as it accords to this principle, or the contrary. The simple question then that must decide the lawfulness or unlawfulness of anger, is—Does love ever express itself in this way? Is it one of the many forms which that godlike disposition naturally assumes? As there are occasions on which our love will spontaneously manifest itself by *grief, joy, &c.* are there any supposable occasions on which it may with equal propriety, or necessarily and unavoidably will, shew itself, by *anger*? The answer, I think, must be in the affirmative. Let love then, which is the *principle* of all lawful anger, be also the *measure* of it—let it dictate the *occasion*, the *degree*, the *duration* of our wrath, and then, though *angry*, we shall not *sin*.

G. S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. No. III.

"Immortalia ne speres, monet annus, et
almam

Quæ rapit hora diem."

"Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia,
non te

Restituet pietas."

"Nec Lethæa valet Theseus abruptere
caro

Vincula Pirithoo."

HOR. lib. 4. od. 7.

"The winged hour, the passing day,
The year that slowly rolls away,
This awful truth proclaim,

One common home we all shall know,
Whate'er our portions here below
Of fortune or of fame.

There, Bute, by friendship raised too high,
Thy glory, shame, and sorrows lie,

The storm of envy past:

Applauded, loved, and feared no more,
His blaze of power and genius o'er,

There Chatham rests at last."

THE administration, at the head of which Lord Bute was placed, were far from finding themselves desirably situated; and that nobleman, though well pleased to be relieved from his impracticable colleague,

was probably honest in declaring to Lord Melcomb, that he thought the moment of Mr. Pitt's resignation unfavourable to the King's affairs. In truth, the new cabinet (if it could be called new) was composed of elements not very capable of combination. The Duke of Newcastle, who had favoured the growing influence of the royal party, in hopes of filling the station from which Mr. Pitt was expelled, found that he had only been auxiliary to the establishment of a second master, and transferred to the new minister all those jealousies, now exasperated by disappointment, which he had long nursed in his bosom, and notwithstanding his crooked policy had the mortification to find he had nursed in vain. Lord Bute's dispositions too, differed considerably from the principles to which a majority of the cabinet was pledged. Though himself pacifically disposed, he was placed at the head of a war administration, and events soon shewed that no lasting concert could be expected. But the state of the Spanish negotiations was the subject which occasioned the minister and his colleagues most uneasiness. Their wishes on this point were completely in unison. Lord Bute was anxious to prevent the further extension of a war, which he wished to compose entirely with all possible expedition; and both he and the other members of the government were personally interested to avoid hostilities with Spain, that they might in some measure shift the odium, under which they laboured for the imputed ejection of Mr. Pitt, upon that popular favourite, by affording a practical proof of his precipitancy. But their anxieties were fruitless. The whole world seemed to be in a conspiracy to exalt the reputation of Mr. Pitt. Scarcely had the news of his resignation been received at Madrid, when the negotiation with that court assumed a new character; Spain began loudly to complain of the pride and violence of Great Britain, de-

manded explanations, and, affecting to consider the hostile proposal of Mr. Pitt as the act of the cabinet, afforded strong indications of her resolution to reject all pacific propositions. Lord Bute, and his coadjutors, were equally astonished and perplexed at this unexpected change. What was to be done? They dreaded a war which should confirm the auguries they had despised, yet to submit tamely to such insolent encroachments, would have subjected them to the still more dangerous charge of imbecility. They adopted therefore a bold and decisive tone; declaring that Mr. Pitt's secession should occasion no relaxation in the measures of government, and peremptorily insisting on a disclosure of certain secret articles contained in a treaty, lately concluded between the courts of France and Spain, called the Family Compact, which were suspected to be injurious to the interests of Great Britain. But the sword of Amrow* was only fatal when wielded by the hand of its master. The same lofty language, which from the tongue or pen of Mr. Pitt seemed to wither and confound his opponents, was now heard with courtly complacency, and the demands transmitted to Lord Bristol at Madrid, though qualified by some private instructions, were in vain repeated to the Spanish minister. He deferred, required explanation from time to time with diplomatic adroitness, sometimes smiled and sometimes frowned, kept our ambassador in waiting by playing alternately with his hopes and fears, till an interval for preparation had been secured, and then politely intimated that his excellency might retire, venting however at his departure a few coarse charges of re- crimination against the government

* The Saracenic conqueror of Egypt. A sovereign of that day requested to see the sword which had wrought such wonders, and, admiring at its smallness, was informed by the chief, that the efficacy of the weapon depended upon the arm which governed it. Vide Gibbon.

of Great Britain. He bowed his visitor to the door, and then pushed him out of the room; and the English ministry, after exhausting every finesse of haughtiness and humility, keeping up to the last a sort of theatrical bustle, found themselves duped and insulted into a contest, which their tricks of vehemence and conciliation had been in vain employed to avert.

Such is the force of authority in the conduct of the world. The same remonstrances, which issuing from a cabinet commanded by Lord Bute, seem only to have hastened the conflict, if aided by Mr. Pitt's high reputation for wisdom and courage, would probably have awed the enemy into submission; and this is a principal reason why it is necessary to have men of acknowledged greatness at the head of an administration. The industry and integrity of some second rate minds might, probably, (other things being given) be full as efficient as the powers of a loftier genius, reduced as they generally are by indolence, or partial eccentricities, and a contempt of details; but the difference is this: men act with confidence under one whose qualities are extraordinary; they catch something of his enthusiasm, and are proud of his governance; he enjoys therefore facilities in his home administration, which belong only to him, and his high national reputation soon renders his character respected and formidable abroad:

His name alone can to the battle go,
The air that bears it shall press down the
foe.

Lord Bute too probably sunk his consideration at the court of Madrid, by a certain appearance of indecision and over anxiety for carrying his point, which a subtle diplomatist would soon detect. Every public dispatch to Lord Bristol was checked by a letter of private instructions, allowing him discretionary abatements from the strictness of the official injunctions. This was

neither manly nor prudent. Magnanimity is a branch of true wisdom. Caution is undoubtedly necessary in council, but so is determination. There is a deliberative courage which is as practically useful as sagacity and providence. At least, in public measures, there should be nothing of what Mr. Burke calls "complexional timidity," for state cowardice always provokes aggression. Weakness may excite individual compassion, but it stimulates national cupidity and violence; for kingdoms, like corporations, "have no souls *."

The war with Spain having thus become unavoidable, Lord Bute felt anxious to provide for the increased exertions which such a contest rendered necessary, by retrenching from some part of the national expenditure; and the state of affairs in Germany afforded him an opportunity of diminishing our efforts in that quarter. There has always been, in this country, a class of politicians, who have been disposed to think lightly of the general balance of power, and insist on the national interests of Great Britain, as separated by her locality and maritime relations from the great European confederation of states. Of this school, the same to which Harley and Bolingbroke belonged, was Lord Bute. His lordship therefore was little disposed to prosecute the war on the Continent, and the death of the Empress of Russia having relieved Frederick the Second from one of his most formidable enemies, it was resolved to withdraw a pecuniary subsidy which had been annually paid to that monarch during Mr. Pitt's administration.

Of this resolution, Frederick complained loudly, and in his posthumous works, charges Lord Bute

* It is a maxim of law, that corporations cannot be seized to a use; and the reason assigned by the old jurists is, that they have no souls, uses having formerly been enforced only in equity as binding on the conscience.

with having carried on secret intrigues, to the detriment of Prussia, at the cabinets both of Petersburg and Vienna. There probably was no ground for this charge. Lord Bute's general principles are a sufficient explanation of his conduct towards Frederick. It might be difficult at this time to determine, whether the measure itself was weak or prudent; but this we may safely say, that it deserved neither to be violently applauded nor violently condemned. No breach of national faith was committed; and though it was both wise and generous in Great Britain to assist in maintaining the political system of Europe inviolate (while a system yet remained), still, as a practical question, we had always to measure the means with the end, and to consider how large a portion of the national resources could be providently applied to effect an object in which this country was only indirectly interested. The political school to which Lord Bute belonged, would always (as I before observed) have been inclined to neglect every external relation, and to cultivate with exclusive attention the marine and industry of Great Britain; not sufficiently feeling that our advancement in those very particulars must considerably depend on the condition of the neighbouring communities. The rival class of statesmen, more enlarged in their views, and more liberal in their feelings, have, on the contrary, been desirous to make this country the key-stone of every confederacy formed for the protection of the general liberties of Europe; and partly from a generosity, great even in its excess, and partly from fixing their attention too strongly on a single branch of the national interests, would have diverted the whole of the resources of their country to preserve an exact equilibrium among the powers of the Continent. Perhaps a middle path might have been more convenient. Nothing can be clearer than that Great Britain must be deeply concerned in the fortunes

of the neighbouring communities; but nothing also is clearer than that the means of exertion being limited, and the objects to be pursued various, if the stream is forced to a great height in one channel, it must be proportionably reduced in the rest.

This resolution, to withdraw the subsidy from Prussia, produced an important change in the ministry, and led the way to still greater revolutions. The Duke of Newcastle, feeling, or feigning disgust at the new system of policy, resigned his situation at the head of the Treasury, which Lord Bute assumed, and Mr. Grenville was appointed Secretary of State.

If the British ministry were reprehensible for reducing the scale of their exertions in the continental war, (which I believe they were not), it must at least be confessed, that they made extraordinary efforts in other quarters. Within the space of a single twelvemonth after the declaration of war with Spain, two large expeditions were sent out from this country to the West, and one to the East Indies, against the colonial possessions of our enemies. These succeeded separately in subduing Martinique and the other Leeward Islands then in the possession of France; the Havannah; and Luconia, the principal of the Philippine Islands. At the same time a body of 8,000 men was dispatched for the defence of Portugal; and though the good Catholics there seemed disposed rather to resign their fields and monasteries to their brethren of Spain, than owe their protection to the swords of heretics, our army found means to defend them against their will; for the Spaniards too were Catholics, and the court of Lisbon, by some accident, discovered a better leader for their armies, even than their favourite St. Anthony*.

* The Count de la Lippe Buckburg, an active and intelligent officer. In the life of the Marshal Berwick, it is mentioned,

The successes, however, which attended the fortunes of Great Britain, seem only to have rendered the minister still more desirous of peace. Early in the autumn of 1762, negotiations were commenced, and the Duke of Bedford went over as minister plenipotentiary to France. Lord Bute, who was at all times ill-disposed to connect this country with the Continent, appears to have felt little solicitude about the affairs of Germany, being anxious only to effect a separate pacification. For this indifference on such a subject, it would be difficult wholly to excuse him; it grew however naturally out of his general political system, and undoubtedly prevented the occurrence of many difficulties which might otherwise have delayed the progress of the negotiations. Being clogged by no such impediments, these proceeded rapidly. Britain had every thing to give, and Spain and France were not unwilling to receive. France and Spain were desirous of peace, because the war was ruinous; Britain, because Lord Bute was minister. The preliminaries were signed on the 3d of November, 1762. The only material conquest which the enemy had made was Minorca, and this was of course restored; France also stipulated to withdraw her armies from Germany, and to demolish the fortifications at Dunkirk. In return for these concessions, or rather for the purpose of obtaining peace without delay or difficulty, Great Britain agreed to give up a large

that the Portuguese having been for some time unsuccessful in the field, grew dissatisfied with their commanders, and determined to act under a new general. By a rapid and novel process, they hurried their patron, St. Anthony, through the several military gradations, and having invested him with the chief command, and arrayed his statue with the proper accoutrements, they marched out in high spirits to attack the enemy; but early in the day a hapless ball carried off the head and shoulders of the Saint, and the whole army precipitately retreated.

portion of her conquests, both in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. She restored to France the factories which belonged to that power before the war, in various parts of the hither peninsula of the Indies, as well as her principal colonies in the West Indian Islands, among which were Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia. To Spain, Great Britain restored the Havannah by express stipulation, and Luconia by a whimsical species of construction; for we are informed that, the preliminaries containing no particular agreement respecting that island, it was *understood to be relinquished*; an inference which, though doubtless very clear to French and Spanish intellects, it might have been thought would appear less logical to the British ministry; but they were too intent upon the general conclusion, to meddle with a little sophistry in the statement of a term.

Great Britain, it is evident, yielded much; yet the conquests which she retained were considerable. The principal of these were Canada and Cape Breton in North America, with the islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, Grenada, St. Vincents, Dominica, and Tobago. Spain also yielded Florida and some adjacent territories, in return for the cession of the Havannah, and the free use of her own system of dialectics in arguing upon the omission in the preliminaries.

It would not be easy to find a reasonable ground for applauding the ministry of this country on the conclusion of such a treaty, though Lord Granville is said to have declared it, upon his death-bed, the most honourable peace this nation ever saw. At the same time it must be owned to have been improvident rather than disgraceful. What we kept was valuable in itself, and a sufficient recognition of the superiority which our arms had gained during the war. It can hardly be doubted, however, that we might have retained more; and though it

is generally impolitic, as well as mean, to press very severely on a distressed enemy, leaving thereby in the national mind the recollection of losses exasperated by a sense of oppression, yet to abandon advantages, fairly and expensively gained, certainly is not the usual path to greatness. But I am not disposed very vehemently to condemn the peace of 1763. The hurry with which the preliminaries were arranged, and the magnitude of the possessions given up, shew that the minister was more anxious to secure the object he had in view, than to purchase it at the lowest rate. It must be owned he made a bad bargain; but the events of succeeding years have evinced that the retention of a colony more or less would have been of very little importance to this country; and perhaps the best apology for Lord Bute's conduct is to be found in its consequences. He refused all attempts to compose the distractions in Germany; yet as early as the month of February, 1763, hostilities ceased upon the Continent, and a treaty was concluded between the contending powers, by which no material extension of territory was acquired by any of the contracting parties. He concluded what might well appear a hasty and extravagant peace for this country; yet it lasted undisturbed for fifteen years, and was then interrupted by interests quite unconnected with those which Lord Bute had arranged. This could hardly have happened, had we left our enemies proud and insolent at the restitutions they had obtained, and deeply exasperated for the concessions exacted. Upon the whole, we may say that the peace was such as might reasonably have been expected from Lord Bute; and it stood in about the same relation to the war which preceded it, as that nobleman himself held in comparison with Mr. Pitt. In itself it was neither very bad nor very good, neither very admirable nor very censurable, but it appeared

contemptible when contrasted with the achievements of a contest beyond all example brilliant and successful.

Mr. Pitt, as it might be reasonably expected, vehemently condemned the terms of this peace. Though labouring under a severe fit of the gout, he came down to the house, and in a powerful harangue, which lasted for three hours, entered fully into the merits and demerits of the preliminary articles, which he reprobated in the strongest language, declaring that "they obscured all the glory of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by abandoning our allies." Yet it must be owned, that the last was the only charge which Mr. Pitt could with much consistency maintain; for the terms, which he himself was willing to have accepted, differed but little, so far as they respected France, from those which he so strongly reprobated. What would have been his conduct as to the restitution of the Spanish colonies, we cannot determine; but I am not disposed to think it could be either generous or wise in this country to reduce a power already too weak, and whom it must have been our best policy to strengthen, if increased strength could have given her independence. There is a passage in this speech, which, to a reader in the year 1807, appears so remarkable, that I shall transcribe it. "To represent France (said Mr. Pitt) as an object of terror, not only to Great Britain, but Europe, is mere declamation." But France was then under an old government, acting according to old rules. Her increased energies have grown out of the establishment of a new dynasty; which, if we would successfully oppose, we must learn to shake off a little of our attachment to old systems and prejudices, and keep pace with our restless adversary in activity and improvement. In the sixteenth century, the Papists at first despised the Protestant reformers;

but the superior sanctity and learning of the new sect soon extended their influence, and the Romanists discovered that the South of Europe, like the North, would probably be subdued, unless they submitted to imitate their enemies, and contend with them for the palm in literature and morals. The characters indeed are reversed. We are they who protest against oppression, our enemies are the proud oppressors ; but the principles still remain the same, and if we would resist their power, we must imitate their wisdom.

CRATO.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

THE important subject, which has again been brought under the consideration of parliament, seems to call for the serious attention of the Christian Observer. Under Mr. Pitt's last administration, the broad question, of what is incorrectly called the Catholic Emancipation, was fully discussed, and received that decision which we had reason to expect from a British parliament. Now, that its advocates despair of accomplishing their objects at one stroke, a new scheme seems to be adopted for effectuating their purpose. The general question is kept out of sight ; the friends of the Catholic claims seem even to have given it up ; at least they wave the discussion of it for the present, and rest each individual demand on its own peculiar circumstances, or on some concession obtained in an unguarded hour of ill-judged candour. Thus each claim, successfully prosecuted, becomes a precedent for new concessions ; while these in their turn serve as arguments to support still further demands. Meanwhile, the principles upon which these concessions are asked and granted, are sufficiently wide and comprehensive to bear out the Catholics, not only in asserting to their utmost extent all the claims which they have hitherto advanced, but in

requiring an equal participation of every privilege with the Protestants, and even the substitution in Ireland of a papal for a protestant hierarchy. Nor have their opponents been always sufficiently vigilant, while they resisted each innovation upon its own basis, to refute those bold abstract positions which the advocates for the Catholics have interwoven with the arguments peculiar to each case. To attempt a regular vindication of the existing laws, relating to the Catholics, is very far from my present purpose ; but I have thrown together a few observations upon some of the leading principles on which the Catholics seem to rest their claims ; and, if they tend in any degree to elucidate the subject, they may not be wholly unacceptable to the Christian Observer.

One chief dogma, on which the advocates of the Catholic claims rely, is, " that no person or class of persons ought to be excluded from any office in the state on account of his religious principles, unless such principles are generally connected with political sentiments hostile to the constitution." The terms of this dogma are ambiguous. They may mean that such exclusion is *morally*, or that it is *politically*, wrong : but the former, I presume, is the sense in which it is generally received ; for such exclusion is stigmatized as persecution, and the removal of it is termed emancipation. Let us then examine the position thus understood. The true end and object of government is the welfare of the community at large ; not the peculiar benefit of those entrusted with the administration of it. The wealth, the dignity, the splendour, with which magistracy is encircled, are thrown around it, not for the sake of those who fill its various functions ; but partly to secure to the government that respect and authority which is necessary to its existence, and partly to encourage the exertion of talents in the service of the state. It belongs, therefore,

to the laws to fix and ascertain the qualifications of those to whom offices of trust shall be confided, as it belongs to the proprietor of an estate to determine for himself, what character he shall require in his steward: the laws may in this respect be capricious, absurd, injurious to the community; but they cannot be unjust to the class of individuals whom they exclude from a share in the administration of government. Nor can it make any difference, in this view of the question, whether the qualification required be descent from a royal or noble family; the possession of property to a particular amount; or the profession of certain religious opinions. If the Catholic is wronged by being barred from executing certain offices of magistracy or of executive government, may not every commoner, with equal justice, complain, because the peerage is hereditary; every subject, because the crown is not elective? If, indeed, any attempt is made to control the conscience of any individual, by denouncing penalties, corporal or pecuniary, against non-conformity to the faith or worship of the national Church; this is a persecution, which every Christian must loudly condemn. Wherein then consists the distinction? In this: to life, and personal liberty, and the unmolested enjoyment of property, *every individual* has a *natural right*; to power over his fellow-creatures, *no one* has a *natural right*; and those only, *on whom the laws confer it*, have a *civil right*. If, therefore, any one is deprived of life, liberty, or property, otherwise than as a punishment for an offence against society, or as a reasonable contribution of his property towards the just demands of the state, such deprivation is a wrongful invasion of a *natural right*, is oppression, is persecution; and, if on account of religious opinions (unless such opinions are both openly promulgated, and flagrantly injurious to morality), such deprivation is an invasion of the sacred

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right of conscience, is bigotry, is persecution of the worst and most odious kind. If, again, any one whom the constitution of his country has invested with authority, whether regal, legislative, or judicial, whether by hereditary title, or by election, or by any other mode of appointment, is stripped of that authority, without the sanction of the laws which gave it, or without that necessity which supersedes all law, such spoliation is an unjustifiable invasion of a *civil right*; is rebellion, or usurpation, or both, according to the circumstances of the case. But, inasmuch as offices of state are the creatures of positive institution, which no one can claim otherwise than as a *civil right* resulting from established law, and to which therefore no one is entitled except those on whom the law confers them; those, whom the law excludes from such offices, are not deprived of that to which they have either a natural or a civil right, and such exclusion is not persecution in any proper sense of the term.

But I would try the principle in question by another test. From true premises, none but true conclusions can be deduced. Now, if the principle which I am discussing be true, it necessarily follows, that religious sentiments, unless connected with political principles hostile to the constitution, form no just ground of exclusion from the throne itself. Unless, then, the advocates of the Catholic claims are prepared to support their position to this extent, they must admit that it is not a principle of inflexible and universal application, and therefore not a principle ascertaining a positive right: at the utmost it is only a rule of propriety, or prudence, or expediency; and a departure from it can be only *politically* wrong. And in that point of view it seems to be considered by some of those who rely upon it in their arguments. They do not plead for the demands of the Catholics as matter of right; but press them upon the legislature, as

proper or expedient to be conceded.

Let us then next enquire whether it can be assumed as a *general principle*, that exclusion from offices of state on account of religious sentiments, unless such sentiments are connected with political principles hostile to the constitution, is *politically* wrong. I say as a *general principle*: for I am by no means inclined to contend that conformity to the national Church is necessarily, and under all circumstances, to be required as a qualification for offices of trust of every description: it is only the recognition of the expediency of *never* requiring such qualification, as an universal or general maxim, that I am at present concerned to repel. It is a principle of government, which few, I believe, will be inclined to dispute, that, *cæteris paribus*, those are the persons best qualified to fill the more important offices of trust, who have the most at stake in the welfare of their country, who have the most interest in the continuance of the existing form of government. What, then, I would ask, can give a man a more important stake in the welfare of his country, a more lively interest in the continuance of the existing constitution, than the reflection that it provides for the maintenance of that religion which he most approves? Again, an established religion implies laws relating to its establishment and support. By whom, then, can those laws be so firmly administered, as by a judicature convinced of their propriety, so steadily executed as by a magistracy conscientiously attached to the national Church; so zealously protected as by an army and navy under the command of officers, who feel that they are fighting for the altar of their God, as well as for the throne of their Sovereign, and the soil that gave them birth? But the arguments, I shall be told, may be retorted upon myself: give to the Catholics, say their advocates, the same privileges as

their fellow subjects enjoy, and you will make them good citizens and faithful soldiers. If, indeed, experience would warrant the opinion, that persons strongly prepossessed in favour of any particular form of religion are, in general, actuated by little or no zeal to recommend it to others, to extend its influence, and to render it the prevailing religion of their country; the argument might have some weight. But consult the annals of history: the first object of a sect is to secure the free exercise of their religion; when this is obtained, a spirit of proselytism arises; success inspires new hopes; and those, who once only demanded toleration, soon claim to have the national religion superseded by their own. To this (if we wish to consider the general principle as applied to the case in question) we must add the peculiar nature of the Roman Catholic religion; its intolerant maxims; its universal condemnation of all who are not within the pale of the Papal Church; its claim to universal dominion; and, above all, the impious doctrine which it has publicly and authoritatively avowed, and which it has never recanted, that faith is not to be kept with heretics. But, in this enlightened age, the principles of Catholics, it is urged, are widely different from those which they held a century ago: all fear of the prevalence of popery, all dread of its persecuting spirit, is now ridiculed as an idle tale, fit only for the nursery. In the minds of Catholics, who have enjoyed a liberal education, the grosser absurdities of popery, we may perhaps admit, are now explained away, and the Anti-Christian maxims alluded to are in some degree abandoned: but that light, which, in various parts of Europe, and above all in this favoured island, has dispelled or thinned the mists of papal superstition, has not yet dawned on the benighted Catholics of the lower orders in the sister kingdom. If then the government is under the ne-

cessity of employing Papists of this description as privates in the army and navy, it is on that account doubly important that the general officers should be men not biassed in favour of the Church of Rome. A conscientious and enlightened Roman Catholic officer, be it conceded, will not avail himself of the power, with which he is intrusted, to extort from the government of his country any advantage for his own religion; but is there no danger that a designing hypocrite, professing popish sentiments in order to gain popularity among a Roman Catholic soldiery, might use that popularity for the worst of purposes? Might not the French Emperor, who has re-established the Catholic religion in his own dominions, and certainly for no trivial end much less with any good design; might he not, by holding out as his object the universal re-establishment of popery, neutralize a considerable proportion of our strength, if the command of Irish soldiers were confided, I will not say to a Roman Catholic, but to one for sinister purposes professing the religion of the Church of Rome?

Another principle, which is evidently taken for granted by many of the advocates of the Catholic claims in the course of their arguments, but which they have not yet ventured directly to advance, is that different religions are all equally good, and that the religion of the majority of the inhabitants ought to be the national religion of the country. I am not aware that this principle has been distinctly avowed; but many sentiments have been advanced which imply the adoption of it. Much has been said of the great proportion which the Catholics bear to the Protestants in Ireland; while a warm attachment to the Established Church, and a jealous dread of Catholic doctrines, are stigmatized as illiberal prejudices, as bigotry worthy only of the dark ages. Have then the morals of the nation no influence on its happi-

ness? Or has the religion of the people no operation on their morals? Or are those who need instruction the best qualified to choose their own instructors, and to decide what doctrines those instructors shall teach? Is the popular voice to be consulted with more deference in matters of religion than in questions of politics? All or some of these questions must be answered in the affirmative, in order to make out the position as assumed in the arguments for the Catholic claims. But, if the morals of the people be, indeed, the main source of the happiness or misery of the nation, and if those morals essentially depend on their religious opinions, it is the duty (even merely with reference to this world) of those rulers, in whose hands Providence has placed the government of their country, to watch over those morals, to direct those religious opinions, and to provide for their subjects instruction in those principles of religion which those rulers deem most conducive to public morality, not those which may suit perhaps the depraved taste, or gratify the corrupt inclinations, or encourage the blind prejudices of the people. And if those rulers have a due sense of the momentous charge committed to them, and duly appreciate the infinitely superior importance of eternal things over the things of time and space, they will be sensible, that a further duty is required of them; that it is incumbent on them not merely to watch over the morals of their subjects, but to afford them every opportunity of receiving that knowledge which is unto everlasting life.

Philos.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

SIR,

HAVING been fortunately informed that three young ladies of my acquaintance are now in the very act of buying Latin grammars and engaging masters to instruct them in

that language, and happening to know that they are your constant readers, I can think of no plan so likely to deter them from their project as to convey my advice to them through the medium of the *Christian Observer*.

I can only assign two probable motives for a woman's wishing to be mistress of the learned languages; curiosity, and a desire of distinction.

With respect to the former, the universality of the failing will hardly operate as an excuse, nor will it need many words to shew the impropriety and danger of admitting such a motive of action. But I would besides beg leave to assure my fair friends, if they will take my word for it, that the study of the dead languages will supply to them no gratification of curiosity in any degree proportionate to the time and labour which it necessarily requires.

It cannot be very interesting to ladies to learn how one hero tumbled another from his car, how goddesses fought, or how gods intrigued. What is fabulous in profane history, they would not relish, what is true and important, they may read with tenfold facility and nearly equal advantage, in the works of approved modern authors.

As for the moral and philosophical discoveries of Greece and Rome, they may rest contented in "blissful ignorance." Be it sufficient for them to know that a single page of their Bibles contains lessons of morality more striking and sublime than all the writings of Plato or Seneca can furnish.

But female curiosity is interested in the ancient lore of Greece and Rome, less perhaps in its primitive use, than in its modern application. Not only is almost every *Spectator*, *Rambler*, and *Adventurer* intrenched behind some formidable scrap of Greek or Latin, but every book or pamphlet of more modern date which makes its appearance, whether profound or trifling, serious or

comic, is loaded with the same excrescences; and a very favourite production of the latter class, owes a great deal of its success to happy equivoques, unintelligible for the most part except to those conversant with the learned languages*. In short all modern productions are universally either decorated or defaced with classical allusion and quotation, down from a speech in the House of Commons to a lottery advertisement.

All this is certainly very hard upon the ladies, and doubtless it is one of their chief stimulants to the daring attempt which it is the object of this paper to discourage; but if they had any idea how little they lose by not entering into the spirit of these favourite literary appendages they would probably no longer regret their ignorance.

For instance, one of the most common, and therefore it is fair to conclude, the most generally approved and admired mottoes in modern use, is the following:

———"Si quid novisti rectius istis
"Candidus imperti; si non his utere mecum."

This then of course will be supposed by those who are unacquainted with its meaning to contain some original and profound thought, some striking and noble sentiment, or at least some brilliant and happy allusion. It will probably therefore be some disappointment to learn that it expresses simply this: "If you have better information upon this subject than I, impart it without ceremony; if not, take that which I offer you:" a sentiment sufficiently modest, but not perhaps, it will be thought, particularly new or important. Again, authors frequently plant at the beginning of their work two significant words "*Utile, dulci*," which just means this, that their work combines instruction and entertainment. This, though not equally modest with the former, is certainly not more striking or original. It must be con-

* The Miseries of Human Life.

fessed that those cannot be said to lose much, who lose the meaning of such quotations, and that they must have a most insatiable and undistinguishing appetite for knowledge who feel any anxiety to enrich their stock of information with treasures like these.

If it be not a desire to *know*, which stimulates to these unfeminine pursuits of literature, it is of course a desire to *shine*. And here as before I would ask, if the desire is likely to be gratified by the means proposed. A woman who is mistress of the learned languages is undoubtedly *distinguished*; but there is such a thing as an unenviable distinction. Cleopatra, Messalina, and Catharine of Russia, were all *distinguished* women. Something more than is necessary, and one must *please* as well as astonish. Now neither reason nor experience at all lead us to believe that learned women are agreeable either to their own sex or to the other. To the former they hold out a mortifying superiority, to the latter an alarming and pride-revolting rivalry. Envied on the one side, and feared on the other, they are considered as the common enemy of both, and having it in their power to console themselves with Homer and Virgil, to mix with heroes, and converse with shepherds, it is not thought hard that they should be deprived of the attentions of such men as live in these degenerate days. Among the scanty list of learned women few have been the favourites of history, or have been handed down in a favourable light to posterity.

If therefore scholastic attainments supply no food either to female curiosity or to female vanity, what inducements do they hold out adequate to the time and labour which they necessarily demand? If it be answered, "It is a *duty* to improve

the understanding, and enlarge the stock of useful knowledge;" I reply that it is admitted. The only question is, whether with respect to women such studies *be* improving and such knowledge useful. I would do the sex the justice to believe, that they are disposed to act from higher and more proper motives than those which have been commented upon; but where will they find the study of the learned languages, or the abstruser parts of science, inculcated as one of the duties of women? The general tendency of the scriptural exhortations to the sex is undoubtedly adverse to such pursuits. The same precepts which inculcate that women are not to teach, not to be forward, and to be submissive and obedient to their husbands, evidently tend to repress in them all intellectual ambition, and all the pride of mental superiority.

I know not, Sir, whether any apology be necessary for offering to the notice of the Christian Observer a subject unimportant in comparison with those which he is accustomed to treat; but those who dictate to us upon the highest subjects will generally have considerable influence with us in matters of less importance. The Christian Observer, which is very justly considered by the religious world as of high authority on points of Christian practice and belief, naturally obtains respectful attention when interests less weighty are discussed, and duties less sacred inculcated. Nor is this a privilege, as it appears to me, by any means trifling, or lightly to be valued, when it is considered that upon a combination of minute excellencies, and an observance of trifling decorums, depends the perfection of moral character and the happiness of social life.

RASSELLAS.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Primitive Truth, in a History of the Internal State of the Reformation, expressed by the early Reformers in their Writings: and in which the Question concerning the Calvinism of the Church of England is determined by positive Evidences. London. Hatchard. pp. 283. 8vo. 1806.

It requires no great experience to discover, that men do not differ more widely in their opinion of things, than in their ideas of demonstration. On subjects of religious as well as political discussion, honest and upright characters frequently adopt sentiments which no ingenuity can reconcile, and from the same first principles arrive at conclusions diametrically opposite; whilst each is surprised at the folly or obstinacy of his antagonist, who can shut his eyes against the light of truth, and persist in error, purely because he will not be convinced. We remember to have heard of a very worthy man, who had an unconquerable dislike to serve upon a jury; for he had always to contend with eleven obstinate fellows, who were quite above the reach of reason and argument. The moral of this story we would recommend to those, who expect that the controversy on the Calvinistic or Arminian tendency of our Articles can ever be settled to the entire satisfaction of the contending parties. Moral demonstration, notwithstanding the judgment of Mr. Locke, differs widely from mathematical proof. After all that has been said by the ablest combatants, and though we have often expressed something like a decisive opinion on this much agitated point, it is very possible that two persons of the utmost probity and fairness may differ widely in their judgment; but he, who after due examination should doubt, whe-

ther the three angles of a triangle are really equal to two right angles, would scarcely be complimented either for his sagacity or candour.

Dr. Kipling undertook to settle the controversy by scholastic syllogism; but his syllogisms failed; there were in them indeed so many chinks and gaps, so many holes and openings, at which truth might steal out and error might creep in, that they were not well calculated to furnish much support to his cause. His learned opponent Academicus advanced to the contest with no ordinary display of reasoning and argument; but neither was he wholly successful. The work before us professes to determine the question by positive evidence. The testimony of those who composed the Articles, if that testimony were clear and unequivocal, is worth all the arguments that ever were produced; and though we perhaps have not exactly the same notion of proof with the respectable Editor of this volume, yet we are willing to admit, that his extracts from the writings of the Reformers are in general judicious; that he writes in a spirit of mildness and conciliation; and that those who peruse his book without deriving from it both pleasure and instruction, are either very happy or tolerably learned already.

After stating in the Preface what is the precise nature of the question, viz. "Whether the Church of England maintains the doctrine, whatever it be, which distinguished this reformer Calvin from all other reformers, and the Church in Geneva, the Gallic Church, from all other Churches *," the author pro-

* This mode of considering the subject, we think it but justice to the Calvinists to state, will not be admitted by them to afford by any means a fair view of the question. They contend that almost all the re-

ceeds to call his evidence. The principal witnesses are the Bishops Jewel and Grindal. Of the former of these great men Burnet observes, that he had reason to look on his works as a very sure commentary on our Articles, so far as they led him. Their testimony is supported by that of Hooper in 1550, and of Samson and Humphrey in 1566; by selections from Bullinger's Decades, and from the Confession of the Helvetic Church; and by other evidence from the writings of the reformers in the reign of Elizabeth.

As the work consists almost entirely of these selections, we shall do little more than present some of the best for the judgment of our readers.

Jewel to Peter Martyr, 1559 :

"We have presented all the Articles of our religion and doctrine to the Queen, and we have not departed even in the smallest point from the Confession of Zurich" that is, 'from the Helvetic Confession.' (p. 38.)

In 1562, he writes thus :

"As to opinions we have cut off every error to the very quick, and we are not so much as a nail's breadth distant from your doctrine," viz. 'in the Helvetian School.' (p. 38.)

Grindal to Bullinger, in 1566, states, that

"Many did endeavour to bring into the Church a doctrine different from the pure and sincere profession, as it was embraced by the Churches of Helvetia;" but "to that day the Church of England did fully consent with the Helvetian Churches and their Confession lately published." (p. 40.)

Humphrey and Samson to Bullinger in 1566 :

"God be praised, our doctrine is pure and uncorrupt: In the form of worship, which is not the least important part of religion, why do we halt? Why imitate the Papists, our enemies, in the reformation of religion, rather than your own brethren?

formed Churches coincided with Calvin in doctrine; and that therefore there was nothing in his system which distinguished him from all other reformers, and the Genevese Church from all other Churches.

The Confession of our Church is the same as yours; our doctrine and faith stand upon the same foundation; the seal of it is the same, and we have the same Christ for our Lord and King." (p. 41.)

To shew the perfect similarity of our Articles to those of the Helvetic Churches, we are presented p. 42, with the Helvetic Confession of the year 1536, "more largely written in 1566." Of this the tenth chapter, p. 54, treats of "God's Predestination and Election of Saints."

"God has from the beginning, freely and of his mere favour, without any respect of persons, predestinated or elected the saints, whom he will save by Christ; according to what the Apostle has said, God has chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world; and again, Who has saved us, and called us with an holy calling, *not according to our works*, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given to us through Christ Jesus before all time, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Therefore God did not choose us without some medium, although that medium be not any merit in us; but he chose us in Christ and for Christ's sake; so that they, who now are grafted into Christ by faith, are also his elect; and they, who are not in Christ, are reprobates, according to that of the Apostle, Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith: know ye not your own selves, that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?

"Lastly, the saints are chosen in Christ by God to a certain end; which also the Apostle declares, saying, He has chosen us in Him, that we *should be holy and without blame before him in love*. Who has predestinated us, that he might adopt us to be sons through Jesus Christ to himself, and that his glorious grace might be praised."

The rest of the chapter guards chiefly against the abuse of the doctrine.

The following extract is from Bullinger's Answer to the Pope's Bull in 1571.

"That she (Queen Elizabeth) chose not to have the opinions of men followed by herself and her kingdom, but the pure Word of God, heretofore received by King Edward the VIth: nor that she appointed

impious rites and institutions as the said bull charged her. That she received and delivered to her subjects nothing else to observe, than what her brother of holy memory before had piously and prudently out of the Word of God, judged fit to be received and believed, and so to be delivered to his people. For the King having called together to London all the chief nobility, bishops, and doctors out of the whole kingdom, admitting also among them very eminent doctors of other nations, being the servants of God, commanded that they should shew him *out of the Holy Scriptures*, what he and his kingdom in so great a diversity of opinions should follow. And that they, faithfully discharging the trust committed to them by the King, drew up and framed certain Heads or Articles, at that time unanimously, *out of the Word of God*; which the King both received, and without delay set forth, under this title, 'Articles, &c.' (p. 80.)

In the Convocation of 1586, it was agreed that every minister with a cure, and under a certain degree, should provide a Bible and Bullinger's Decades; part of these he was enjoined to read every day, to make notes from them, and to shew his notes at certain intervals to a preacher in the neighbourhood. We are furnished, p. 83, &c., with extracts from some of the Decades: of these, the 13th section relates to Providence and Predestination. (p. 108.)

The plain object of this section is to assert these doctrines as nearly as possible in the language of Scripture, and then to guard them from abuse. The subject is evidently discussed with an awful impression, how improper it is to pursue such difficult mysteries and to "creep into the seat of God's Council." (p. 115.)

In proof of the assertion, that neither Elizabeth nor her Bishops were inclined to pay any deference to the Ministers or Church in Geneva, Beza is introduced (p. 250,) as writing to Bullinger in these terms:

"As for their Church of Geneva, he left him to judge, how it was hated by the Queen, in that she had never by the least word signified, that his present to her of his Annotations was acceptable: that the

cause of her hatred was twofold," &c.; "that their Church (viz. of Geneva) therefore was not fit to send either messenger or letter to the Queen, for the regulation of these disorders."—"But he did earnestly desire that some person might be sent from Zurich, for that theirs was the Church alone, by whose authority both the Queen and the Bishops did seem to be moved."

As a confirmation of this argument, our reformers in Elizabeth's reign are stated on the authority of Burnet to have written many letters to the Helvetian doctors, "full of respect and love, and of great deference to their opinion and judgment, in what related to the reformation of religion:" but no such letters are to be found in Geneva. (p. 252.)

Our readers will be enabled from these quotations to form a tolerably correct estimate of the work before us. Whether the author has completely established his argument, that our Articles and Liturgy exactly correspond with the Confession of Zurich or Helvetia, and with no other, may still seem to admit a doubt. Jewell and others have been introduced, as affirming the perfect similarity of the Helvetic and English Churches: but in estimating the value of such affirmation, we must always bear in mind, what were the great objects for which at that time the reformers contended, and what doctrines they considered as of the first importance. Our readers need not to be informed, that the struggle at that period was for the establishment of the Protestant faith in opposition to the Catholic: the avowal of Arminian against Calvinistic tenets, or the contrary, was necessarily a point of very inferior moment. In proof of this we need only look at the nature of the case, or refer to the history of the time. If positive evidence be required, we would refer to Bishop Jewell's "explicit and full Declaration of the Faith of the Church of England," expressed in her public apology; though other topics are introduced, the main controversy was between

Protestantism and Popery: and it was extremely natural, whilst the mind was diverted to these great points, to assert the perfect similarity of doctrine in the Churches of England and Zurich.

But admitting the identity of the English and Helvetic Confessions to be demonstrated, will it thence follow as a necessary corollary, that the Church of England is not Calvinistic in doctrine? We apprehend that this inference will be denied by all those who give to our 17th Article a Calvinistic interpretation; for they will find in the tenth chapter of the Helvetic Confession of 1566, as quoted above, precisely the same indications of Calvinism which they have discovered in that mysterious Article. It does not appear to us, therefore, that our author, even if he succeeded in establishing the point which he aimed to prove, has advanced one step towards the definitive settlement of this unhappy controversy. It still remains to be shewn that the doctrines of the Church of Zurich are not Calvinistic.

It is worthy of notice, that the Helvetic Confession of 1536 had no Article on Predestination. Might it not then be inferred, from the existence of our 17th Article, that our reformers were more inclined to Calvinism than the compilers of that Confession? It is true, that in that Article "the doctrine of election and predestination is expressed none otherwise than in the very words of Scripture;" but the circumstance of this Article being superadded to the Confession of 1536, was no trifling alteration. The Helvetic divines, in 1566, composed a chapter on this subject, and have guarded the doctrine much more at large than our own reformers. These facts seem at least to establish one point; that Jewel, and Hooper, and others, who so early as the years 1559 and 1562, declared that "the Articles had not departed *even in the smallest point—not so much as a nail's breadth* from the confession

of Zurich," ought to be understood as speaking with considerable latitude: they had secured the great points, and considered the rest as comparatively non-essential.

Our reformers appear to have lived on terms of greater intimacy with the ministers of Zurich than with those of Geneva. For this fact many reasons might be assigned, besides a difference in doctrine*; for "Grindal was known to have a great respect to the name of Calvin."

We throw out these ideas rather to convince the respectable editor of this volume, that the question is not yet exhausted, than by way of directly controverting his positions. The great and important doctrine of Justification by Faith through Jesus Christ, without which creeds are nugatory, and Churches an empty name, was alike the doctrine of Calvin and of Luther, of Arminius, and of the Church of England. If we ask then with Jewel, "what say we of the fathers," what say we of the reformers? "What account may we make of them?" We would answer in his words, "they were learned men, instruments of the mercy of God. We despise them not; we read them; we reverence them; and give thanks to God for them. Yet may they not be compared with the Word of God. We may not build upon them; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience; we may not put our trust in them: they are stars, fair, and beautiful, and bright; yet they are not the sun:

* Our author indeed assigns, in the words of Beza, what appear to have been the real reasons of the dislike which Queen Elizabeth felt to the Church of Geneva, and these have no reference to doctrine. One was that the ministers of Geneva "were esteemed too severe and rigid, which especially displeased such as were afraid of being rebuked;" the other that "two books were published at Geneva, one against the Government of Women by Mr. Knox; the other of the Right of the Magistracy by Goodman." (p. 250.)

they bear witness of the light; they are not the light. Christ is the Sun of Righteousness: Christ is the light, which lightens every man that comes into the world. His Word is the Truth: He is the day-spring, which has visited us from on high. He came from the bosom of the Father: he shall guide our feet into the way of peace." Jewel on the Scriptures, as quoted p. 207.

A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, addressed to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Yorkshire.
By WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.
London, Cadell and Davis. 1807.
8vo. pp. 396.

THE feelings with which we commence our review of this work may more easily be conceived than described. After twenty years of unremitted exertion, the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade, whom we hesitate not to pronounce the best friends of this country and of human nature, have reached the termination of their labours. They have conducted the struggle to a successful and glorious issue. They have gained the eminence so long contested, and can now survey in retrospect the plains through which they passed, the stations they occupied, and the passes which were most vigorously defended, the scenes of their momentary discomfiture, but of their final and everlasting triumph. They have carried the lines. They have relieved the city.

"Ergo omnis longo solvit se Teuceria luctu;
Panduntur portæ; juvat ire, et Dorica
castra,
Desertosque videre locos, litusque relic-
tum.
Hic Dolopum manus, hic sævus tendebat
Achilles,
Classibus hic locus, hic acies certare sole-
bant."

The same event, which occasions these feelings of exultation in every reflecting mind, will also materially affect the nature of our present

strictures. Had the momentous question lately decided been still at issue, we should have felt it our duty to give a full synopsis of the contents of the work before us, with large extracts of the facts and reasonings it contains, that we might have been assistant, according to our power, to their general circulation. But this great measure having been carried, we feel ourselves justified in indulging a greater latitude of mixed observation, presenting to our readers only a general view of the nature and object of the work, and pausing on such of the more remarkable passages as shall seem peculiarly to deserve our notice.

The writer, in the present address to his constituents, evidently intends to present to the world a full and authentic statement of the merits of that case which he has so long zealously advocated, cleared of the misrepresentations to which it has been subjected, and fortified by the principal evidences and arguments on which its claim to the public attention has always rested. This intention he has very successfully executed. The letter before us contains a view of the question upon which it was written, full and satisfactory. No great branch of the subject is omitted. No principal objection is left unanswered. Yet it is neither encumbered by too large a mass of detailed evidence, nor drawn out into unreasonable length by a painful exposition of every inferior argument, or an analysis of every puerile and captious cavil. The author seldom digresses, and never declaims; but pursues a manly march of statement, reasoning, and observation, from the opening avowal of the motives which prompted the undertaking, to the conclusions he at last irresistibly establishes, and the awful corollaries flowing from them. He insists on general truths; he collects important facts; and, disposing his materials in a manner which is neither too loose nor too technical, he has the art of carrying his reader along with him from step

to step, through a vast range of intermediate inferences, without fatiguing his attention, or bewildering his understanding: and though the work is rather too long, if considered as written only to produce an immediate effect; we cannot wish it shortened even by a single line, when we recollect, that this must be (if we may so term it) the recorded memorial, to be transmitted to posterity, of the grounds on which their ancestors abolished a traffic so long the disgrace of the British empire. In the general character of this work we immediately recognise the author of "The View of Practical Christianity." It is distinguished by the same broad and liberal principles in every branch of philosophy; the same ardour of religious feeling; the same prevailing simplicity, candour, and tenderness; the same exuberance of ideas, and felicity of diction. The style is open, popular, and eloquent; though less rich, and less perfect, than in his former work. The composition indeed is evidently hurried; but this has rather defrauded it of excellencies within the writer's reach, than occasioned any very striking faults. Viewed as a work destined to live for ages, as, what Thucydides boldly called his history, "*Κτήματα ες αἰετ*," it is wanting in compactness and sententious dignity; but considered as an address primarily intended for present effect, perhaps a more philosophical habit would have diminished its attractions. The author has this peculiar faculty, that he communicates the most profound and extensive truths in a manner so cheerfully familiar, that the reader is surprised at the ease with which he apprehends them. They are stated as if they were without difficulty, and, so stated, they really are.

Yet it may not unnaturally be asked, why was it necessary to write at all? Has not the question of the slave trade been long since fully examined? Undoubtedly it has; and we may say with Mr. Wil-

berforce, "Were it as easy to prevail on mankind to read publications which have been some time before the world, as to peruse a new one, the present task might have been spared." Those, however, who have attended to the latest discussions of this subject in parliament, will not be disposed to question the propriety of a fresh publication, when they recollect how little acquainted the anti-abolitionists appear to be with the most established positions respecting the slave trade, even after the extensive circulation of this pamphlet. Need we ask, whether information was wanted, when we find one of the principal advocates of that traffic straining for proofs that wars have always existed in Africa, and talking learnedly of Leo Africanus and Elzevir Editions; just as if his opponents had affirmed that this quarter of the world was exempted, by an original benediction, from those miseries which the great Creator has ordained in every place to be the consequences and the punishment of guilt? Need we ask, whether the re-statement of some general truths in morals and politics can be useless, when we hear the same grave senator declare, that he loves to linger around the institutions of his ancestors; and endeavour to protect himself by the authority of great names, without daring to trust those institutions to a trial by the country? We doubt not that such "lay loiterers," if at an early part of the last century a monument had been proposed to Sir Isaac Newton, would have risen to inform us, that this new system in astronomy was purely theoretic; that Ptolemy, and Archimedes, and Kepler, and Descartes, and Tycho Brahe, had all discountenanced the hypothesis; and perhaps have challenged the principal supporter of such a motion "to descend from his philosophic elevation to the level of plain experience." Surely these schoolmen require to be tutored in a few of the elementary principles which a more

enlightened age has recognized. They are so much in love with antiquity, that they have taken their station in knowledge somewhere about the fourteenth century; and would doubtless be delighted to revert to the old feudal system, to reconnect the judicial and executive authorities, and restore the dispensing power to the crown. Indeed we must say for our anti-abolitionist friends in general, that they are but very moderate tacticians; their forces, we admit, were raw and miserable enough; but they have conducted them so poorly, that we have doubted whether the weakness of the army or its commanders was the most pitiable, and have sometimes thought to ourselves with the old satyrist,

“*Horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse*
Dat veniam.”

Should the point of compensation be hereafter agitated, we really advise the slave traders and planters to retain new counsel. One other observation we must hazard before we proceed further. The agitation of this subject in parliament has afforded us a practical explanation of the nature of occult causes. To an uninformed observer it seems a strange phenomenon, that some twenty or thirty individuals should separate themselves so boldly from the body of their fellow-legislators, and pertinaciously deny what to a common understanding appears self-evident. A philosopher might not unreasonably delight himself with the discovery of a new genus in the animal world, which, under a common exterior, possessed a peculiar class of tastes, feelings, and apprehensions. But a more curious inquirer will soon explain the mystery. Ask why Chremes opposes the abolition? Your informant will whisper, Chremes has an estate in Jamaica. But Simo? He has the consigneeship. And Sosia? is the mortgagee. And Crito? Crito thinks himself delegated to protect certain local interests; and the world knows how

to estimate his representative opinions. Well but Carneades*, he is not influenced by such motives? Alas! it is his nature and his habit. He is fond of prize-fighting; and whether the match be in the schools or palaestra, the little chaplet of ivy has for him irresistible attractions. The justice of abolishing the slave trade being generally allowed, he determined to deny it, and has struck out, for that purpose, a whimsical paralogism, though he has been at no pains to examine into the real merits of the question.

But to return to the work before us. After a few introductory remarks, the author commences his undertaking by an inquiry into the African part of the question, and presents his readers, first with a short account of the sources from which information has been procured, and then with a more extended view of the devastation and miseries which this traffic has created, acuminated, or perpetuated throughout that wretched continent. His opponents' pleas are next considered, and principally the bold assertion, that negroes are incapable of improvement; which leads to a full and very masterly examination into the causes of the incivilization of Africa. On this branch of the subject we shall have some remarks to offer. Other inferior allegations, as to the effects of the proposed measure on the negro race, are incidentally noticed; and the reader is then carried across that detested middle passage, of which may be truly said,

“*Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem.*

Portitor ille Charon, hi quo vehit unda sepulti.”

Buried indeed in a living sepulchre, far from joy, and hope, and consolation. The great topic of inquiry which the western hemisphere presents must obviously be, how far it

* Carneadem, qui ad id pervenerat, quod academix suæ summum erat, ut pro falso non minus quam pro vero vires eloquentiæ posset intendere. Grotius de jure belli et pacis. Prolegomena.

is possible to keep up the present stock of negroes in the colonies, without further importation. This therefore is amply discussed, and the discussion introduces a survey of the principal vices of the present system. That topic, with its incidents, comprehends in fact the whole of the West Indian part of the question. The author, however, whose tenderness for the feelings and prejudices of his opponents is equal to his anxiety for the conviction of his unbiassed readers, employs near an hundred pages in replying to the principal objections which have been urged from every quarter, and in demonstrating the expediency as well as justice of an immediate abolition. At the conclusion, a summary view is taken of the several branches of the argument, and the whole case presented again in miniature; and the work closes with a few, but most awful, reflections, flowing naturally from the preceding discussions.

Before we proceed to extract and comment on particular passages, we must observe upon the evidence which this subject has furnished to the value of general principles. That the slave trade is in both quarters of the world a source of the deepest and most complicated wretchedness, no impartial man, who is not grossly ignorant of the facts indisputably established, can now doubt. Yet it is very possible, that this mystery of iniquity might have remained for ever concealed, but for those theories which some men so idly ridicule. We are become at last pretty well acquainted with slave traders and the managers of West Indian estates, and know how to value their testimonies. In truth it is evident, from the nature of the case, that such men would never voluntarily have made even the qualified and imperfect discovery which has been extorted from them. They are bred with a certain set of opinions and feelings; and the epithets good and bad, happy and miserable, reasonable and unreasonable, have refer-

ence to a standard in their minds quite different from that which is established in happier regions. Curious men, therefore, might have inquired earnestly into the circumstances of this traffic, and its correspondent system in the colonies, without a suspicion being raised in their minds of the atrocities really practised. The information given them would probably have seemed quite satisfactory, even with respect to the comforts of the captives during a middle passage; and this too without any studied duplicity on the part of the informants, who would certainly think the allotment of space for negroes reasonably large, if adjusted on a fair proportion to the stowage of a cargo of guinea pigs. The animals must be kept alive, if possible, in the one case and the other; but with that restriction the less they can cost in freight the better. But to a mind imbued with scientific principles, the elementary facts are sufficient to unravel all this complication of misery. Is a mart for slaves established on the coast of Africa? Then slaves will be furnished. Are men wanted? Men will be supplied. This being a commodity which is not created by natural industry, but by the chances of war, wars will be multiplied and prolonged. What follows? General insecurity. What next? General idleness. What next? General barbarism. And the last scene of all is, these several evils conspiring together, and engendering new and greater,

“All monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable,”

to feed this cannibal Minotaur, whose ravenous maw must be glutted with human victims. Thus also with regard to the West Indian system. Had men been contented with inquiries after details, they would undoubtedly have learned that the negroes are happy, and their masters men of honour and virtue, with the usual abatements in favour of human frailty. But inform

a philosopher, that domestic slavery is there established, and he needs no testimony to be assured, that such representations are false. He knows that servitude will *necessarily* generate all the lower vices in the slave, and all the higher in the master: that he who is dependant on the caprice of another must lose self-estimation, and becoming careless of opinion, the only moral restraint in the absence of religion and knowledge, will soon become senseless to depravity; that he to whom caprice is law, will hasten with tremendous and accelerating speed to be capriciously insolent, cruel, and profligate. Such has been the importance of general principles in discovering the atrocities which, in their most aggravated form, are now, we trust for ever, crushed: nor has their value been less in establishing the proofs on which those atrocities have been condemned; for, to a reflecting mind, they are alone a sufficient reply to all the assertions hazarded by the anti-abolitionists.

That men who are, or fancy they are, deeply interested in this question, should shut their ears against general principles, and obstinately resist a measure which they have not virtue to support, is melancholy, but not extraordinary. It does, however, appear inexplicable, that others, (one in particular of great celebrity) who are too well acquainted with these truths to deny the effects of this odious traffic, should yet contend, on broad principles of morals, that we are under no obligation to abandon it. The reasonings offered have not perhaps been fully answered; and though we dread entangling plain precepts in the web of a fine-spun casuistry, yet we are disposed to think the maze in the present instance may be thriddled by very moderate adepts in that art. The opposing argument is thus constituted. "It is affirmed by the abolitionists, that nothing must be tolerated which occasions robbery and murder; but

murder and robbery are incidental to slavery as well as the slave trade. If, then, the moral maxim enuntiated be imperative, both should be abolished; and they who refuse to adopt that extremity, admit by this inconsistency that their rule is not of universal application; or in other words, that its strictness does not shut out a consideration of circumstances." This is said only *ad homines*; but the author of the argument for himself maintains a different theory in morals; and adopting Dr. Paley's principle of expediency as the only true criterion, he insists that the quality of actions depends wholly on their consequences. The abolition of the slave trade, therefore, being, (as he affirms) inexpedient, its continuance is not contrary to justice; nay his reasonings legitimately followed must conduct us to this inference, that the abolition of that traffic is *actually immoral*. To these syllogisms we reply, that the first contains one assumption, and the second at least three. The abolitionists, though referring undoubtedly to the code of divine precepts as paramount in authority, are too well instructed to say generally, "that what occasions murder and robbery can never be tolerated." They insist only that the *crimes themselves* must not be continued. "Thou shalt not kill." — "Thou shalt not steal." These injunctions they contend are of strict obligation, not to be construed down or evaded; and to continue the slave trade is to kill and steal, unless he who employs the thief and hires the assassin is not a principal in guilt. The difference is this. Revelation has expressly inhibited certain crimes. These, therefore, are placed out of the sphere of discretion. They are "*hors du combat*," and no supposable state of things can justify their commission. What acts amount to the crimes forbidden may at times be disputable; but the rule is inflexible as to every thing it covers. The morality of other actions is to be discovered by analogy to the

written law, and their conformity to its general spirit; by reference to our moral feelings; by the inherent beauty or deformity of the thing; and by its expediency, that is, its *general* tendency to promote happiness in this world. It is obvious, therefore, that circumstances, though excluded from exercising any influence in the first department of morals, have a powerful control over the second. Now slavery, and all other institutions which, without being in themselves forbidden, are incidentally productive of evil, fall under the last division. They who affirm that nothing may be tolerated which occasions robbery and murder, must not only emancipate our slaves in the West Indies, but raze our great cities, and fire our mines and manufactories. The abolitionists however are not chargeable with this paradox. They only assert that the Author of all moral obligation has enjoined us to renounce certain actions, without any inquiry as to reasons or consequences; and that his will must be obeyed. They say also that the Slave Trade, as now practised, is one of those, and that slavery is not. Of what inconsistency are they guilty? Surely, however, the subtle casuist who undertook to detect the illogical reasonings of his adversaries, should have been cautious in constructing his own. Yet to expose his sophistry is in truth a much easier task than to answer his objections; for he first assumes that Dr. Paley's theory of expediency is sound; next, that the abolition of the Slave Trade will be inexpedient for this country; and lastly, that what is nationally inexpedient for us, must be likewise so generally inexpedient, as to fall within the limits of Dr. Paley's principles, forgetting totally, that even if his two first hypotheses were made out, the last would still be more than questionable. The actions of great kingdoms are precedents; and if that empire, to which freedom and

virtue have flown as to a sanctuary, maintain the precedent of slave-dealing, what hopes are left for the civilization of Africa? And can it be *generally* expedient that Africa should be for ever barbarized? Oh! let not Britain, the seat of religion, and arts, and science, the nurse of liberty and patriotism, the pride of Europe, the hope of nations, let not Britain be the patron of such iniquity. If we cannot secure every blessing in the celebrated description of virtuous happiness, if we cannot command the

"Secura quies, et nescia fallere vita,
Dives opum variarum"—

let us at least retain its highest boast:

"———— extrema per illos
Justitia, excedens terris, vestigia fecit."

It would be easy to multiply observations on the tendency of the reasoning which we have noticed, but our comments have already been too extensive. One thing only we must add. It is greatly to be wished that they who are ready to swear fealty to Mr. Burke as their liege lord, would pay a practical homage to his authority. "No theatric audience in Athens," (says that great master of philosophy and eloquence) "would have borne to see a principal actor, weighing as it were in scales hung in a shop of horrors—so much actual crime against so much contingent advantage—and after putting in and out weights, declaring that the balance was on the side of advantages. In the theatre, the first intuitive glance, without any elaborate process of reasoning, would shew that this method of political computation would justify every extent of crime. They would soon see that criminal means, once tolerated, are soon preferred. They present a shorter cut to the object, than through the highway of the moral virtues. Justifying perfidy and murder by public benefit, public benefit would soon become the pretext, and perfidy and

murder the end *." We must indeed honestly confess, that we are never more suspicious of subtlety than when employed upon practical questions in morals. We have no objection to scientific refinements, but let us not refine away our duties. Our heavenly Father has made the highway of virtue too plain to be missed by those who are honestly desirous of finding it; and in answer to the acuteness of political metaphysicians, the great advocate of the abolition, simple even when most profound, and profound too in that very simplicity, might say with the old poet;

"Hæc sum profatus, patres, haud ambagibus

Implicita, sed quæ regulis æqui atque boni
Suffulta, rudibus pariter et doctis patent."

The most interesting discussion which we meet with in the earlier part of this work, is that on the incivilization of Africa, which commences at the 71st, and is continued to the 89th page. But before we present to our readers the prominent features of that argument, one passage peculiarly characteristic of our author must be extracted. It is to be found in the 4th and 5th pages, where the writer seems to make a solemn oblation of his labours to the Lord of heaven and earth, as the heroes of old were wont to commence their enterprizes with sacrificial rites.

"But farther I hesitate not to avow to you: on the contrary, it would be criminal to withhold the declaration, that of all the motives by which I am prompted to address you, that which operates on me with

* Burke on the French Revolution, p. 208. A few pages afterwards we have this passage. "We know that we have made no discoveries, and we think that no discoveries are to be made in morality;" and the same writer, in another part of his works, which we cannot recover, declares against expediency as the criterion of morals, though he holds it a good rule in political philosophy.

the greatest force, is, the consideration of the present state and prospects of our country, and of the duty which at so critical a moment presses imperiously on every member of the community, to exert his utmost powers in the public cause.

"That the Almighty Creator of the universe governs the world which he has made; that the sufferings of nations are to be regarded as the punishment of national crimes; and their decline and fall, as the execution of His sentence; are truths which I trust are still generally believed among us. Indeed to deny them, would be directly to contradict the express and repeated declarations of the Holy Scriptures. If these truths be admitted, and if it be also true, that fraud, oppression, and cruelty, are crimes of the blackest dye, and that guilt is aggravated in proportion as the criminal acts in defiance of clearer light, and of stronger motives to virtue (and these are positions to which we cannot refuse our assent, without rejecting the authority not only of revealed, but even of natural religion); have we not abundant cause for serious apprehension? The course of public events has, for many years, been such as human wisdom and human force have in vain endeavoured to control or resist. The counsels of the wise have been infatuated; the valour of the brave has been turned to cowardice. Though the storm has been raging for many years, yet, instead of having ceased, it appears to be now increasing in fury; the clouds which have long been gathering around us, have at length almost overspread the whole face of the heavens with blackness. In this very moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, those great political characters, to the counsels of the one or the other of whom the nation has been used to look in all public exigencies, have both been taken from us. If such be our condition; and if the Slave Trade be a national crime, declared by every wise and respectable man of all parties, without exception, to be a compound of the grossest wickedness and cruelty, a crime to which we cling in defiance of the clearest light, not only in opposition to our own acknowledgments of its guilt, but even of our own declared resolutions to abandon it; is not this then a time in which all who are not perfectly sure that the Providence of God is but a fable, should be strenuous in their endeavours to lighten the vessel of the state, of such a load of guilt and infamy?" (p. 4—6.)

Happy were it for Britain, and happy therefore for man in general, if the rulers of this land had always the wisdom to feel or the manliness to avow such sentiments.

After a full enquiry into the character of the negro race, in which the prejudices of colonial writers are combated and refuted by the narratives of African travellers, our author proceeds thus :

“ But, notwithstanding all which has been here adduced in favour of the negro character, I am aware that there exists, not uncommonly, in the minds even of men of understanding and candour, a strong prejudice against the African negroes, on the ground of their never having advanced to any considerable state of civilization and knowledge, in any period of the world. Let me be permitted, in the first place, to consider that position more particularly. They were always, it is alleged, to a considerable degree barbarous. Still more, in the remotest times to which our accounts extend, slavery, and even a Slave Trade, have been found to prevail in Africa. Hence a presumption arises, that her inhabitants are incapable of civilization, and that Africa cannot much complain of a practice which has become so congenial to her, and which seems to arise, not from European avarice, or cruelty, but rather from the genius and dispositions of her people, or from some incorrigible vice in her system of laws, institutions, and manners.

“ That Africa, which contains nearly a third of the habitable globe, should never at any period have been reclaimed from a state of comparative barbarism, is, indeed, on the first view, a strange phenomenon. But without stopping to comment on the precision of that reasoning, which, on this ground, should argue that it is justifiable for the European nations to make Africa the scene, and her sons the objects of the Slave Trade, we may confidently affirm, that a considerate review of the history, origin, and progress of civilization and the arts, in all ages and countries, will not only explain the difficulty, but will give us good grounds for believing, that, reasoning from experience, the interior of Africa is full as much civilized as any other race of men would have been, if placed in the same situation.

“ How is it that civilization and the arts grow up in any country ? The reign of law and of civil order must be first estab-

lished. From law, says a writer of acute discernment and great historical research, from law arises security ; from security, curiosity ; from curiosity, knowledge. As property is accumulated, industry is excited, a taste for new gratifications is formed, comforts of all kinds multiply, and the arts and sciences naturally spring up and flourish in a soil and climate thus prepared for their reception. Yet, even under these circumstances, the progress of the arts and sciences would probably be extremely slow, if a nation were not to import the improvements of former times and other countries. And we are well warranted, by the experience of all ages, in laying it down as an incontrovertible position—that the arts and sciences, knowledge, and civilization, have never yet been found to be the native growth of any country ; but that they have ever been communicated from one nation to another, from the more to the less civilized. Now, whence was Africa to receive these valuable presents ?” (p. 71—74.)

This is followed by a rapid survey of the progress of civilization from Egypt and Assyria, through Phœnicia, into Greece and her scattered colonies ; till its limits spreading with the growth of the Roman empire, arts and knowledge were established through a large portion of Europe, the western provinces of Asia, and northern shores of Africa. Then followed the invasions of the tribes who descended from Poland and Tartary on the polished regions of the south ; and last of all the conquests of the Saracens, who alone of all the nations, which, by pressing beyond their natural limits, have received or bestowed civilization, penetrated through the sandy desert into the interior of the African continent. How little the followers of Mahomet were qualified to teach, yet how much the negro race have improved by their intercourse even with these bigoted and barbarous conquerors, the accounts of our modern travellers testify.

“ It may therefore be boldly affirmed, that the interior, to which may be added the western coast of Africa to the south of the great desert, never enjoyed any of that intercourse with more polished nations,
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without which no nation on earth is known ever to have attained to any high degree of civilization; and that, contemptuously as we and the other civilized nations of Europe now speak of the Africans, had we been left in their situation, we should probably have been not more civilized than themselves." (p. 80.)

"But it may be even affirmed, that the Africans, without the advantages to be derived from an intercourse with polished nations, have made greater advancements towards civilization than perhaps any other uncivilized people on earth. Nor is this the state of those nations only, which, from their having received some tincture of the Mussulman tenets, may be supposed to have owed their improvement to their Mahometan invaders, but in a considerable degree of those countries also where there are no traces whatever of any such connection.

"Let us appeal to experience. In what state was Britain herself, when first visited by the Romans? More barbarous than many of the African kingdoms in the present day. Look to the aboriginal inhabitants of both the northern and southern continents of the new world, both when America was first discovered, and at the present day, with the exception, perhaps, of only the kingdom of Mexico. Look to New Holland, a tract of country as great as all Europe; look to Madagascar, to Borneo, to Sumatra, to the other islands in the Indian seas, or to those of the Pacific Ocean. Are not the Africans far more civilized than any of these? The fact is undeniable. Instead of a miserable race of wretched savages, thinly scattered over countries of immense extent; destitute almost of every art and manufacture (this is the condition of the greater part of the nations above specified), we find the Africans, in the interior, in the state of society which has been found, from history, next to precede the full enjoyment of all civil and social blessings;—the inhabitants of cities and of the country mutually contributing towards each others support; political and civil rights recognized both by law and practice; natural advantages discerned, and turned to account; both agriculture, and, still more, manufactures, carried to a tolerable state of improvement; the population in some countries very considerable; and a strong sense of the value of knowledge, and an earnest desire of obtaining it. How great is the progress which the Africans have made, compared with the scanty advantages they could

derive from their barbarous Mahometan invaders!

"But it has been the peculiar misery of Africa, that nations, already the most civilized, finding her in the state which has been described, instead of producing any such effects as might be hoped for from a commercial connection between a less and a more civilized people; instead of imparting to the former the superior knowledge and improvements of the latter; instead of awakening the dormant powers of the human mind, of calling forth new exertions of industry, and thus leading to a constant progression of new wants, desires, and tastes; to the acquisition of property, to the acquisition of capital, to the multiplication of comforts, and, by the more firm establishment of law and order to that security and quiet, in which knowledge and the arts naturally grow up and flourish; instead of all these effects; it has been the sad fate of Africa, that when she did enter into an intercourse with polished nations, it was an intercourse of such a nature, as, instead of polishing and improving, has tended not merely to retard her natural progress, but to deprave and darken, and, if such a new term might be used where unhappily the novelty of the occurrence compels us to resort to one, to barbarize her wretched inhabitants.

"And now we are prepared both to admit and to understand a fact, which, though found to take place universally in Africa, is contrary to all former experience. In reviewing the moral history of man, and contemplating his progress from ignorance and barbarism, to the knowledge and comforts of a state of social refinement, it has been almost invariably found, that the sea coasts and the banks of navigable rivers, those districts which from their situation had most intercourse with more polished nations, have been the earliest civilized. In them, civil order, and social improvement, agriculture, industry, and at length the arts and sciences, have first flourished, and they have by degrees extended themselves into more inland regions. But the very reverse is the case in Africa. There, the countries on the coast are in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism, which also are always found to be the greatest where the intercourse with the Europeans has been the longest and most intimate; while the interior countries, where not the face of a white man was ever seen, are far more advanced in the comforts and improvements of social life.

"This is so extraordinary a phenomenon

non, and it points out so clearly the pernicious effects of the Slave Trade on the prosperity of Africa, that it deserves the most serious attention. However extraordinary the statement may appear, it is confirmed by the unvarying testimony of all African travellers. Such is the result of the experience of Mr. Parke, who penetrated deep into Africa in one part; such is that of Mr. Winterbottom, who travelled about 200 miles inland in another: and the same extraordinary fact has since received a most striking confirmation, in the accounts, before recited, of the Booshuana and Baroloo nations.

"Surely more than enough has been stated, to shew how far the present state of Africa is from furnishing any just grounds for believing that the Africans are incapable of civilization. Our only cause for wonder is, not that on the coast, where all is anarchy and insecurity, the inhabitants should have gradually declined from the state of civilization to which they had attained, and should have at length sunk into a state of profound ignorance and barbarism; for they have long been in circumstances which have been ever found utterly incompatible with the rise and progress of civilization and knowledge; the more just subject of astonishment is, that the kingdoms in the interior should still be found in a condition of so much civil order and improvement, in spite of the pernicious effects of the Slave Trade on their moral and social state. But, through the gracious ordination of heaven, the political, like the natural body, can exist under severe and harassing disorders. They may materially injure its health and comfort, and yet not utterly destroy it. Thus the evils which the interior countries suffer from the Slave Trade, are great and many; but their effects are not, as they commonly are on the coast, such as to break up the very foundations of society, and destroy the cohesion of its elementary parts. In the interior, the Slave Trade exercises powers of destruction which justly entitle it to the character of one of the greatest scourges of the human race. But it is on the coast that it reaches its full dimensions, and attains to the highest point of its detestable pre-eminence.

"But if the foregoing remarks prove plainly that our slave dealers have no just grounds for arguing, from the present uncivilized state of the coast, that it is incapable of civilization; surely we cannot but be astonished at the finished assurance, as well as the consummate injustice and

cruelty, with which they would charge on the natural constitution and character of the natives of Africa, that very barbarism of which they themselves are the authors; and not only so, but which, after having produced it, they urge on us as a plea for continuing that wretched land under the same dreadful interdict, not only from all the comforts of the civilized state, but from all the charities of life; from all virtue and all happiness; sealing her up for ever in bondage, ignorance, and blood." (p. 85—89.)

After perusing these copious extracts, our readers may be presumed to be tolerably acquainted with the causes, which, under the disposition of providence, have hitherto condemned Africa to barbarism. Let us turn our eyes then from this gloomy waste to a more refreshing prospect. The great bar to the civilization of that continent, we trust, is now removed by the abolition of a traffic, which (as moral causes are ever found to be more powerful than physical) has hitherto shut her out from improvement by a barrier more insuperable than the mountains of Atlas or the sands of Zara. Her intercourse, therefore, with cultivated nations will, it may be hoped, hereafter be the channel through which her thirsty land may receive those streams of plenty which are spread so largely over happier regions; and Africa enjoy at last, in the evening of her days, "the benefits of knowledge and blessings of religion." How those benefits and blessings may most certainly and most quickly be communicated, is a problem which well deserves the attention of the greatest masters of political science. A profound knowledge of general principles, as well as an intimate acquaintance with details, are undoubtedly required for its solution. We need hardly say that our limits forbid a large investigation of this question; but a few cursory, and rather obvious remarks on this subject, cannot, we think, be uninteresting. In the following speculations, however, we must be understood only as submitting hints for a

general "projet," without embarrassing ourselves by enquiries into the practical difficulties which may oppose its execution. The first advance to excellence is to conceive greatly, and though it may prove impossible to effect all that seems desirable, still it is of great importance to establish a standard, to know what we pursue, and when we deviate.

The act lately passed in this country will, at least during the war (if the cession of Bissao * can be obtained from the Portuguese, and that nation can be induced to confine its Slave Trade within the line of its present operation) liberate a range of country from the ravages of the Slave Trade, extending from Cape Verd in latitude 15 north, to Congo in latitude 6 south. This is the field in which our beneficence may profitably display itself, for to this vast territory we have sufficient access. It is filled, to the distance of 100 or 150 miles into the interior, with a great number of petty principalities under the government of their several chieftains, who may for the most part be considered as absolute.

Many of these little states are independent of each other; while some are bound together by a loose federal union under a nominal head. A powerful vassal however pays little attention to the sovereignty of his liege lord. They can hardly be said to be controlled by any system of international law, or general policy; nor are they subjected to the jurisdiction of a legislative, or even of any regular judicial council. Their law is strength, and their strength men. Their territorial limits are ill defined, the rights of succession ill settled. The passions and caprices of their chiefs are unchecked by the power of privileged orders or national assemblies. The Slave Trade has nursed them for centu-

ries in habits of violence and insecurity; and the acts of mutual aggression, which the temptations afforded by that traffic have occasioned, remain deeply imprinted on the memories, both of chiefs and people, the seeds of eternal hostility thick sown in minds exasperated with the sense of injuries received and inflicted. A state of society more miserably dismembered, and in which the elements seem less capable of combination, can scarcely be imagined. Europe might be rebarbarized before Africa could civilize herself. On the other hand, the whole of this extensive track is washed by the ocean, and is therefore easily accessible from every quarter; the soil is rich, and capable of furnishing all those tropical fruits which are so largely consumed in the rich empires of Europe; and a vast multitude of rivers entering almost every part of this territory, and connecting the whole of that maritime belt we have described with the sea, supply great facilities, both for the production and conveyance of those commodities which may hereafter constitute the surplus wealth of this quarter of the globe. In short it would be difficult to determine, whether the physical advantages or moral impediments to the civilization of Africa be the greater.

Happily, however, man possesses a more absolute dominion over moral than over physical causes; and it remains for us to pay back to Africa some part of that enormous debt which has for ages been accumulating against us. Great Britain possesses several establishments on the windward coast, and a considerable number of forts or factories (for in such a traffic as the Slave Trade, forts and factories are synonymous) scattered along the line of coast which lies between Cape Three Points and Benin; while no other nation at present possesses any establishment in that quarter, if we except the small Portuguese colony of Bissao, and two or three Dutch

* Bissao is a small island at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and is the only settlement possessed by the Portuguese on the windward coast of Africa.

forts now wholly at our mercy. The greater part of these castles are at present in the hands of the African company, and we need not say to what purposes they have been hitherto applied. The expence however incident to these settlements has long been defrayed out of the public purse; and the African (which is a regulated, founded by the act of 1750 on the ruins of an old exclusive) company, is merely the channel through which these supplies are distributed. The first step then which seems desirable is, to obtain a surrender of all those settlements if possible; also the cession of Bissao, to the crown of Great Britain. The second is to consolidate the whole under one government, and to constitute a presidency. Whether the great objects to be embraced in this establishment can conveniently be left to form part of the details of our colonial office, it is the province of others to decide. This system of consolidation is requisite in the present case for the same reasons which render it generally desirable. Unity and consistency of design cannot otherwise be secured, and these are necessary, upon a principle of economy, to prevent a great waste of time, stock, and labour.

The next question which presents itself is much more intricate and extended. What are the means to be adopted for reclaiming Africa from her present unsocial state, and preventing or diminishing the evils which must spring from a constitution of things, such as we have above described? The first and most obvious measure is, by all possible means to encourage internal industry; and, happily, there are circumstances which, even in that unsettled state of society seem favourable to the attempt. The chieftains, we have said, are in a great degree absolute; and these are so numerous, that they bear perhaps nearly the same proportion to the general population, as the higher classes in Great Britain to the mass of the na-

tion. A large part of their dependents are in a state of servitude; that is, though possessed by the customs of Africa of many civil rights, their labour is to a certain extent the property of their masters. Hitherto this labour has been of little value. Every chieftain was a slave factor, and men being the only export article, his subjects were valuable to him only as they furnished means of *panyaring* his neighbours, or were themselves, in default of other resources, objects of legal conviction for witchcraft, which made not only the convict but his family liable to sale. These chiefs however retain a strong taste for the various articles of merchandize which they have been accustomed to purchase from Europeans, and will doubtless be willing to continue the commerce in those articles. This the labour of their vassals may enable them to effect; and labour thus becoming valuable will gradually grow in price, as the country advances in wealth, till the chiefs themselves will learn how to economize it, or, in other words, will discover that free is more productive than forced industry. That discovery being once made, every thing else follows in its order; and that issue is not far distant towards which every nation, advancing in general cultivation, but still retaining civil slavery, must hasten; namely the emancipation of the lower classes. Labour by degrees will be subdivided, and the march of civilization thus become simple and rapid *.

* We do not mean to affirm that the process here sketched will be exactly realized in Africa, nor that free is, in every possible case, more productive than forced industry. We only intend to say that some such process may (if we perform our parts) *very probably* take place, and that the last proposition is *generally* true. The grounds on which this truth rests, we shall have occasion to examine in the sequel of this review. Of the free part of the community we say nothing. Their advances in industry and cultivation will doubtless outrun the progress of their more dependent brethren.

Let every encouragement then be given by this country to the raising of those articles in Africa, which will find a demand in our markets. For this purpose, instruction must be highly useful, and to promote the same end we can see no objection to such Custom House regulations in the way of bounties, drawbacks, &c. as may serve to stimulate exertion in Africa, by enabling its inhabitants, at least for a time, to buy cheap and sell dear. The disadvantages under which their competition with other tropical countries is commenced, may render such measures necessary; and Great Britain ought not to regret some expence, where blessings so great may be bestowed, where injuries so aggravated are to be recompensed. As to the nature of the articles to be exported for Africa, rum and gunpowder certainly are dangerous presents, and some restrictions might appear at first sight advisable; but we do not see any peremptory obligation which binds our legislators "to hurl the thunder of the laws on gin." Industry can only be stimulated by temptations, and men are seldom pleased unless they chuse for themselves. The negroes as they become more peaceable and more happy will lose their passion for such commodities. We would not be understood to deny that management may be useful in these particulars, but we are disposed to think that absolute prohibitions would be impolitic, and in the present circumstances of the African coast the commerce of which is open to all the world, clearly impracticable.

2. The export wealth of Africa, it is evident, must be agricultural. Her soil and climate are fitted for the culture of fruits which no art can raise cheaply in our northern latitudes, and with these she may be able to supply us; while in manufactured articles, our advantages of capital and skilled industry are so enormous, as to render her rivalry hopeless. At the same time we think it of first rate importance, that

encouragement should be given to her manufactories for home consumption. The negroes may go on purchasing daily by their field industry more and more European luxuries, yet remain nearly as barbarous and as ignorant as ever; but if they can be taught to desire decent apparel, and comfortable habitations, innumerable blessings will spring up from these humble shoots. Habits of domestic virtue, order, and happiness, habits of self estimation, a sense of character and propriety, a desire of knowledge, prospective industry, and all the lovely family of social charities which peace and contentment engender, will rapidly be diffused. To this end we think it very desirable that they should be instructed without delay in some of the most useful arts and simplest machinery known among us. In the arts, for instance, of spinning, weaving, and building. Thus will they be enabled to procure the common comforts of life by their own labour, and therefore cheaply, which is of great importance; for what cannot be purchased cheaply, will by the poorer classes be seldom purchased at all; the real blessings of such acquirements never being sufficiently known till they have been enjoyed. Much may be done in this department by the aid of schools, which we shall mention presently; but perhaps still more may be effected by the activity of British settlers at our factories, and their correspondents in the interior. Example works more rapidly than precept on all who are quick to perceive, but slow to reason; and such are children and uncultivated nations. A negro will discern characters as acutely as an Englishman, while much labour is required to make him comprehend a logical proposition. At least it is easy to supply them with specimens of the most useful mechanical contrivances. We will add to this section a short but general scholium. If regulation be ever adviseable, we apprehend encouragement ought

generally to be given to manufacturing industry in the earlier stages of civilization, and to agricultural labour during the later; for the members of a poor community are too careless of comforts, and the inhabitants of a rich empire too desirous of luxuries.

3. One of the first steps towards the civilization of a rude people is to provide for general security; and in the state of society at present subsisting in Africa such provision is indispensable. It is difficult to speculate at a distance on the best means of effecting this object; yet we cannot but hope it may be possible gradually to establish, in different quarters, some description of federal court or council, whose jurisdiction may extend to the adjustment of all national rights and differences. Such institutions have, under various shapes, existed in most countries, where a number of small principalities, either rightfully or practically independent, have been crowded together. Such was the great council of the Amphyc-tions among the Greeks; such probably in their original constitutions were the Cortes of Spain, the assemblies of the states held annually under the earlier monarchs in France, and the parliament of England; such in former ages was the secret tribunal of Germany, and the Imperial Chamber in later days. Among many of the negro chiefs we have already said an imperfect federal union subsists; a nominal sovereign is recognized, and palavers are held, in which complaints are presented and redressed. Here then are at least the elements of such establishments as we recommend. Their natures, forms, and the limits of their several jurisdictions, it would be idle to sketch in theory. Practical institutions must be governed by existing circumstances. But we see distinctly the benefits which would flow from the recognition of such judicatories, and we do not see sufficient reasons to suppose our in-

fluence inadequate to effecting their foundation.

4. The propriety of establishing schools and other seminaries of instruction as extensively as possible, will not be disputed. This measure, therefore, we may assume to be necessary, and its details are too numerous for our limits. We must observe, however, that the success of our schemes will naturally depend on the conduct of these little nurseries of knowledge; for the young are much better subjects for civilization than the old, and with due care the next generation may be as far removed above the present in general improvement, as they will themselves probably still remain below their European instructors. The Mahometans owe the ascendancy which they have acquired, and are daily acquiring, over the native princes of Africa, principally to their exertions in this line. Shall Christians be less active? What language should be taught in these seminaries is a great question. The decision of this point must depend in some measure on the determination of another, which will engage our attention presently; how far Great Britain ought to seek or reject all territorial sovereignty. If the negroes are to be her subjects, they should perhaps be instructed in her tongue; if not, in their own.

5. There yet remains one measure unnoticed, of primary obligation, and which to the readers of this work will doubtless be peculiarly interesting. We must not rest satisfied with making the negroes citizens, we must endeavour to make them also Christians. It is comparatively of little import, whether for a few years they enjoy a larger or more scanty portion of social blessings, but to raise them from darkness to light, and from the bondage of sin to the glorious liberty of the children of God; this is a work worthy of those who would claim the high title of benefactors of the human race. We do not, therefore,

hesitate to say, that missionaries should be dispersed through every quarter of the territory on which we hope to operate benevolently. We know indeed that some (who we fear are more anxious for the advancement of philosophy than religion) think slightly of the labours of these servants of God, and hold it preposterous to attempt the institution of a rude people in the high mysteries of Christianity, while they are uninstructed in most branches of common knowledge. We have no difficulty indeed in admitting that some of our missions have been injudiciously conducted, for want of a little plain practical philosophy; and we can sincerely applaud the measures adopted by the Quakers in America, considered as auxiliary to the promulgation of Christian truth; but we must protest against the general position, that an illiterate people are unfit for conversion. The truth is, that in one sense they are peculiarly fitted for it. The great doctrines of Christianity are easily received by those who are unacquainted with the nature of probabilities; more cultivated minds see the difficulties, and can estimate also the evidence by which those difficulties are overborne; but to an Indian or Esquimaux, the death of the ever-blessed Son of God, and the influence of the Holy Spirit on our hearts, are not at all more incredible than any other facts in natural or civil history. Compare the articles of faith embraced in the Christian creed with the dogmas of their native superstitions, and judge how far those who have accepted the last without reluctance, are likely to be staggered at the former. The creed undoubtedly is received on the authority of the preacher; but be it remembered, that this is a most reasonable ground of conviction to an uncultivated mind. It is plain, that those who are wiser than the poor savage Acolythe, themselves believe what they inculcate; for why else should they endure affliction, and what ground

of faith more strictly rational can an uneducated person adopt? Is not the honest conviction of an enlightened understanding strong evidence of truth? Is it not the strongest which he who is conscious of his own intellectual debility can discover? Besides all which, Christianity is not merely a speculative science. It speaks at once to the affections and the reason. The heart may be won, where the head is but ill-qualified to estimate evidence; and He, who from his high and holy place surveys the labours of his servants, will doubtless shed a blessing on their endeavours. "For the Lord heareth the poor, and despiseth not the prisoner. Them that are meek shall he guide in judgment, and to such as are humble shall he teach his ways—that they may bring forth fruit in due season." Let the missionaries then go forth into the vineyard with full assurance; wise indeed, yet not merely with the wisdom of this world. Let them "do the work of evangelists, and make full proof of their ministry;" retrenching not a single truth from the Gospel of Christ, not bending a single precept to favour the prejudices or the corruption of their hearers. Nor let them forget to publish aloud through the shores and provinces of Africa, that they, who by the labours of twenty years have rescued her sons from misery, are the avowed and zealous servants of Christ; that throughout this long conflict they have been impelled only by Christian motives; they have appealed only to Christian principles; and have devoted the spring and summer of their days to the service of a race of men, despised, distant, and unknown, without hope of reward, or desire of fame, only because they deemed their labours in that cause would be well-pleasing in the eyes of their beloved Master*.

* Our limits compel us to omit some other measures worthy of consideration: one of these is "commercial residents,"

There yet remains one great question to be examined, which our readers will long since have anticipated. Shall Great Britain rigidly confine herself to the factories now in her possession, and act on the surrounding principalities only by influence; or shall she accept the submission of such neighbouring states as may be willing to adopt her patronage? We feel so strongly the advantages and disadvantages of either alternative, that we shall merely offer a sketch of the general arguments, without attempting a decision. Two things, however, we must premise; first, that nothing like a project of encroachment can for a moment be listened to; and secondly, that the question ought to be considered as referring principally to the benefit of Africa.

Considering the present state of Africa, and the authority of Europeans in that quarter, it is probable, that a considerable number of the little states in the neighbourhood of our factories would willingly place themselves under our protection. At Sherbro' the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain is at this moment recognized, and the administration of justice among the natives has long been possessed by the governors of our castles on the Gold Coast. The facilities which the adoption of that system would furnish are obvious and important. All the institutions above noticed as necessary for the civilization of Africa would then become, in a great degree, matters of mere regulation. Our customs, manners, and opinions would spread rapidly, from the power of example, which always acts downwards with the greatest force. The pure administration of justice would secure private property, and national rights be protected, without an appeal to arms, by the authority of British arbitration. But the greatest advantage, and that alone which tempts us to consider the question as disputable, and, (if we may so term them) "secular missionaries."

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is this; the extension of our territorial rights might prevent the future revival of the Slave Trade, by rendering such an attempt on the part of France or Holland impossible, without trenching on our authority, and furnishing thereby grounds of war. We cannot conceal our apprehensions, lest this odious traffic should, at the conclusion of the present war, once more ravage this devoted continent, if not then found reposing under the shade and shelter of the British empire. On the other hand, the attendant evils are of no common magnitude. Supposing even, (what we must be very sanguine to expect) that, in the assumption of sovereignty over the native princes, Great Britain should always act with scrupulous equity, merely accepting, and never exacting, still the inconveniences must be great. Those princes, though willing to recognize our national control, will certainly not be willing to relinquish the internal authority which they now possess within their respective dominions, and the evils flowing from such a constitution of things are very great, though not very obvious*. The existence too of a disposition in the British government, so liable to misconstruction, will probably give birth to apprehensions and jealousies, which, if we would benefit Africa, it is our duty by all possible methods to allay; nor would a satisfactory reply be easily found, should it hereafter be said that the princes of Africa had been robbed of their independence, and the people of their liberty, while too ignorant to understand the value of the privileges they surrendered. But the most alarming evil incident to such a system is, that it holds out a lure to injustice, too strong we fear for the political vir-

* We have not room to analyze this part of the subject, and fortunately it is unnecessary. The Edinburgh reviewers have ably exposed the mischiefs of such a system, in an article on Mr. Orme's *Historical Fragments*, contained in their last number. E. R. n. 18. p. 402.

266 *Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, &c...Great Britain.* [APRIL, tue of any nation; and when we see the vast strides which our ambition has so lately made in the East, under the plausible pretexs of consulting, in the measures there adopted, at once the happiness of the native principalities, and the safety of our own establishments, we dread lest the existence of similar temptations in another continent should lead to the perpetration of similar enormities. Should the same awful drama, which has been performed in Hindostan, be repeated in Africa, Britain will indeed be chargeable with having passed a solemn mockery on mankind, by professing to abandon injustice in one form while determined to pursue it in another. At the same time, it is fair to state the reasons which make it probable, that even under circumstances in some respects similar, Africa would not witness a repetition of those crimes, which have disgraced us during two centuries in the East. That continent is much nearer to the mother country, and the transactions of our government there being in consequence more immediately under inspection, its members will feel a stronger dread of responsibility. The princes of Africa are poor, her cities hamlets, her palaces huts. That the wealth of Asia should be irresistibly attractive to European adventurers can excite no surprise; but here ambition will find fewer allurements, and avarice none. It cannot be denied that exclusive companies are very favourable both to the encouragement and shelter of delinquency, and much of our ancient mal-administration in India may justly be imputed to this cause. The direction of our African establishments, however, being committed to the crown, will of course be regularly subjected to parliamentary investigation. And, last though not least, this country is now become so wakeful to all her interests, foreign as well as domestic, the number of our political citizens so large, and general opinion so powerful, that neither public nor private rapacity are likely to escape without correction. These are some of the arguments which bear on this question. Its determination we shall leave to those who are willing to speculate, and bound to decide; only adding, that if it be advisable to confine our African settlements strictly within their present limits, such a resolution should be avowed from the first, and every measure adopted to secure credit to our protestations, and effect to our intentions.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTELLIGENCE, &c. &c.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PREPARING for the Press:—*An Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*; compiled from the most authentic and interesting documents:—*A Series of One Hundred Plates*, drawn and etched by JOHN AUGUSTUS ATKINSON, author of the *Russian Costumes*, containing a Picturesque Representation of the Naval, Military, and Miscellaneous Costumes of Great Britain; with Descriptions in English and French: in 3 vols. imperial folio, price 15 guineas in boards:—*A concise View of the Constitution and Laws of England*; by Mr. CUSTANCE, of Kidderminster:—*Poems and Miscellane-*

ous Essays; in 2 vols.; by the late Mr. H. K. WHITE, of Cambridge; with the *Life of the Author*, and plates; by Mr. SOUTHEY:—*An Architectural and Scientific Investigation of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London*; with plans, elevations, &c. from actual measurements; and an Essay on the Life, Writings, and Designs of Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN; by Mr. JAMES ELMES, Architect.

In the Press:—A new edition of the *Printer's Grammar*, containing the improvements of the last fifty years; by Mr. C. STOWER:—*An Account of the Navigation and Commerce of the Black Sea*; compiled

from official documents; by Mr. C. WILKINSON:—*JORTIN'S Life of ERASMUS*; in 8vo.; under the care of Drs. RAINE and HENLEY:—*Household Furniture and Decorations*; consisting of Perspective and Geometrical Views of Apartments, with their Chairs, Tables, Sophas, Candelabras, &c.; by Mr. THOMAS HOPE:—*A View of the Present State of Poland*; by Mr. BURNETT, who has lately visited that country:—*Historical Anecdotes, illustrative of the Charities, Manners and Customs, Eccentricities, Religious and Political Dissensions, Popular Tumults, Amusements, and Dress of the Inhabitants of London during the Eighteenth Century*; with a General Review of the Domestic and Ecclesiastical Architecture, Sculpture, &c. &c. now extant in the Metropolis of Great Britain; with numerous plates; by Mr. MALCOLM:—An octavo edition of Sir W. M. FORBES'S *Life of BEATTIE*:—*A popular Essay on the Disorder familiarly termed a Cold*; with the means of obviating and removing it; by Mr. E. L. WHITE, surgeon:—A Second Volume of the *Life of the late Rev. Dr. JOSEPH WARTON*; by the Rev. JOHN WOOL:—*Oxoniana*; consisting of Anecdotes and Facts relative to the Colleges, Libraries, and Establishments of Oxford; comprising a History of the Rise and Progress of that University.

A splendid edition of the *Chronicles of HOLLINSHEAD* has been announced by some of the London booksellers; which they intend to be the first of a series of our early Chroniclers. Another set of booksellers have proposed to print a uniform octavo edition, in periodical volumes, of all the early British Historians and Chroniclers.

A new edition of the *Biographical Dictionary*, extended to 18 volumes, is in great forwardness. Several thousand Lives are added to this edition, and a regular series of references will be given throughout the whole.

A *Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan*, in quarto, by Capt. C. STEWART, is in the press. This library, which consists of about 2000 volumes of Arabic, Persian, and Hindostanee MSS., was preserved entire at the capture of Seringapatam; and was afterwards deposited in the college of Fort William. Captain Stewart, then Assistant Persian Professor at the college, formed a Catalogue of this Library, which he has since revised; and has added an Appendix, containing specimens in the Persian language, with an English translation, from

the principal authors contained in the Catalogue.

A new edition of the *British Essayists*, in 45 volumes, is in the press. The Historical and Biographical Prefaces are augmented and improved.

Mr. JOHNES, who has published a quarto and an octavo edition of his *Translation of the French Chronicler FROISSART*, has prepared a *Translation of the Memoirs of JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE*, with the Notes and Illustrations of various French authors. Mr. Johnes has also finished the *Travels of the LORD DE LA BROUQUIERE*. The *Chronicles of MONSTRELET*, who took up the history where Froissart ended, will next follow. The *Memoirs of COMINES* will succeed; and this Series of old French Historians, issued from the Hafod press, will be closed by the *Memoirs of OLIVER DE LA MARCHE*; other private Memoirs of those times being interspersed, to serve as illustrations. The recent calamity at Hafod, which befel that noble mansion on the 13th of March, when it was nearly if not wholly destroyed by fire, may retard the execution of this undertaking.

Lately published at the Clarendon Press: WHITE'S edition of POCOCKE'S *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*; with Notes and Illustrations, by the Author and Editor. A new edition of CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion*; in three large vols. 8vo. each divided into two parts:—*A Catalogue of the D'Orville MSS. and Books*, with MS. Notes, now in the Bodleian Library.

Engravings of *British Vegetables*, by Mr. BEWICK; with *Descriptions*, by Dr. R. J. THORNTON, are in the press. Two editions will appear, in royal and demy 8vo. corresponding with the editions of BEWICK'S *Quadrupeds, Birds, and Fishes*.

A prize of Twenty Pounds for the best copy of English verses, by Under-graduates, is announced by the Vice Chancellor, at Oxford. The subject is *Moses, under Divine Providence, conducting the Children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land*.

The Rev. F. WRANGHAM, M. A. of Trinity College, and the Rev. E. D. CLARKE, LL. D. of Jesus College, are appointed to preach Two Sermons on the subject of *Translating the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages*; in conformity to a proposal of the Rev. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN, Vice Provost of the College of Fort William, in Bengal; for which each of them is to be presented with the sum of 20 guineas.

A practical farmer advises all noblemen and gentlemen, who wish to see their

hedge-rows well stocked with timber trees, to allow their tenants for every young tree which they shall preserve, at the rate of sixpence each, at the expiration of their lease; whether the lease be for 7, 14, or 21 years. And where gentlemen cultivate their own farms, he advises them to give the hedgers one penny for every tree which is left in the hedge, and is likely to become timber; by which means, in the course of a few years, the hedge-row will be full of young Timber Trees.

From a Collection of Reports and Papers, published by the Society of Ship Owners of Great Britain, it appears, that from 1789 to 1800, according to Lloyd's List, 2967 vessels belonging to the British Empire have been lost by the perils of the sea; and that from 1793 to 1800, there were captured 4344, of which 705 were recaptured, leaving the total loss by capture 3639; and the whole amount of loss by sea and capture 6606. Many vessels belonging to the British Empire have, doubtless, been lost and captured, which are not mentioned in Lloyd's Lists.

From the same publication it appears, by a Report from the Custom House, printed by order of the House of Commons, that, in 12 years, from 1793 to 1804, there were built and registered in the several ports of the British Empire 11,259 vessels of all sizes, from three tons and upwards; containing 1,205,847 tons. In 1803, the number of vessels was 1,407; and that of tons 135,692: which fell in 1804 to 991 vessels, containing 95,979 tons.

It appears from DERRICK'S *Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy*, published under the administration of Lord Barham, that in the year 1548, under Edward VI. the number of vessels belonging to the Royal Navy was 53, and the tonnage 11,268. In 1793, the vessels were 498, and the tonnage 433,226. In 1805, the vessels were 949.

GERMANY.

GALL'S System of *Craniology* is said to be now ridiculed throughout Germany; and he is unable to procure an auditory at any of the places where he has lately attempted to deliver lectures.

SPAIN.

The Supplement to the Madrid Gazette of the 14th October, 1806, contains the following intelligence:—“On the 7th September last, Dr. Francis Xavier Balmis, surgeon extraordinary to the king, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, on

occasion of his return from a voyage round the world, executed with the sole object of carrying to all the possessions of the Crown of Spain, situated beyond the seas, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of Vaccine Inoculation. This undertaking was committed to several members of the faculty, carrying with them 22 children, selected to preserve the vaccine fluid, by transmitting it successively from one to the other during the voyage.

The expedition sailed from Corunna on the 30th November, 1803, and went thence to the Canary Islands, Porto Rico, and the Caraccas. One part, under Don Francis Salvani, sailed from La Guayra to South America, and was shipwrecked in one of the mouths of the River de la Magdalena. Salvani, however, the members of the faculty, and the children, were saved, with the fluid in good preservation, which they proceeded to extend throughout South America, leaving every where suitable instructions for the management of the disorder, and the preservation of the fluid. Towards the close of March, 1805, 50,000 persons had been vaccinated in South America, without one unfavourable result; and the members of the expeditions were continuing their labours in the different provinces of Peru, and intended to proceed afterwards to the districts of Chili and Charca, and to return thence by way of Buenos Ayres to Europe.

The other part of the expedition, with Balmis on board, steered for the Havannah, and thence for Yucatan. Here a subdivision took place, and the different parties, after communicating this specific from the Small-Pox through the whole of Spanish North America, and instituting boards in each city, charged with preserving it as a sacred deposit, for which they are accountable to the king and to posterity, reunited themselves at Mexico. Balmis then embarked with his expedition at Acapulco for the Philippine islands, carrying with him from New Spain 26 children, as successive depositaries of the vaccine fluid. In two months Balmis arrived at the Philippines, and having propagated the fluid in these islands, concerted with the Captain General the means of extending the king's beneficence to the remotest confines of Asia. The Cow Pox has accordingly been disseminated through the vast archipelago of the Visayan Islands, “whose chiefs, accustomed to wage perpetual war with us, have laid down their arms, admiring the generosity of an enemy, who conferred upon them the blessings of health and life,

at the time when they were labouring under the ravages of an epidemic Small Pox." The principal persons of the Portuguese colonies, and of the Chinese empire, shewed themselves no less beholden to Balmis. He introduced the virus at Macao and Canton, which the English had failed to do, the fluid brought in their ships having lost its efficacy on the passage. Having confided the further dissemination of this specific to the English physicians at Canton, Balmis embarked for Lisbon on the 15th August, 1805. In the way he stopped at St. Helena, where, "by dint of exhortation and perseverance, he prevailed on the English to adopt this astonishing antidote, which" (we use the words of the Gazette) "they had undervalued for the space of more than eight years, though it was a discovery of their nation, and though it was sent to them by Jenner himself."

Besides thus extending the knowledge of this invaluable discovery, Balmis ascer-

tained the existence of an indigenous matter in the cows of the Atlixeo, near Puabla de los Angeles. A similar discovery has been made in the neighbourhood of Valladolid de Mechaocan, and in the province of Caracas.

Much information will shortly be published respecting the efficacy of vaccination, not merely in preventing Small Pox, but in curing other morbid affections of the human frame. Balmis has also brought with him a large collection of exotic plants, and a number of drawings in natural history, together with a valuable assemblage of trees and vegetables, in a state to admit of propagation. He has also amassed much important information on many points of science. In short, this expedition, which has no parallel in history, will prove as memorable in the annals of Agriculture and general science, as in those of medicine and humanity.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THEOLOGY.

THE Beneficial Effects of the Christian Temper on Domestic Happiness. 2s. 6d.

Husbandry Improved by Religious Meditations, with some Forms of Prayer, designed for the Instruction and Comfort of the Lower Classes of Society. By the Rev. John Bull, B. A. 3d.

The Importance of Domestic Discipline: and Youth admonished of the Evils of bad Company. Two Sermons preached at Newport Isle of Wight, Dec. 1806 and January 1807. By the Rev. Daniel Tyerman. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon preached at St. John's Church, Blackburn, Lancaster, on Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1807. 1s. 6d.

The History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind, in Countries Ancient and Modern, Barbarous and Civilized. By E. Ryan. 8vo. 8s.

Future Punishment of Endless Duration; a Sermon preached at Knight's Meeting House. By R. Winter. 1s.

A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Lambeth, on the 1st of February, 1807, at the Consecration of the Rev. Charles Moss, D. D. Lord Bishop of Oxford. By the Rev. Charles Barker, B. D. F. A. S. 4to. 1s. 6d.

Eight Lectures on the Occurrences of the Passion Week, delivered in the Parish

Church of All Saints, Southampton, on Palm Sunday, and Good Friday, and Easter Day, in the years 1803, 4, and 6. By Richard Mant, D.D. 12mo. 3s. bds.

A Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church, Westminster, on Friday, Feb. 30, 1807. By the Bishop of St. David's. 2s.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the Visitation of that Diocese. By Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham. 4to. 1s. 6d.

A Sermon preached at Durham, July 17, 1806, at the Visitation of the Hon. and Right Rev. Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham. By Henry Philpott, M. A. 4to. 2s.

A Commentary on the Prophecy of Daniel relating to the Seventy Weeks. By the Rev. John Butt, A. M. 12mo. 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home, of Kames, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and one of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary in Scotland. By Lord Woodhousele. 2 vols. 4to. 3l. 13s.

Campagnes du Maréchal de Schomberg en Portugal, depuis l'Annee 1662, jusqu'en 1668. Par le Général Dumoriez. 4s. 6d.

Authentic Materials for a History of the People of Malta. By W. Eton, Esq. 6s.

Memoir containing a Description of Instruments designed to ascertain the Heights and Distances of inaccessible Objects, without the necessity of reference to Logarithmic Tables. By George Grigby. 4to. 5s.

Lord Bacon's Distribution of Knowledge into particular Sciences, reduced to a Map. Engraved on a large folio sheet, 7s.

The Transactions of the Linnæan Society of London. Vol. iii. 11. 11s. 6d. bds.

An Abridgment of the Light of Nature pursued by A. Tucker, Esq. originally published in 7 vols. under the name of Edward Search, Esq. 8vo. 13s.

Specimens of later English Poems, with preliminary Notes. By Robert Southey. 3 vols. 8vo. 11. 11s. 6d. boards.

Substance of a Bill for promoting and encouraging of Industry among the Labouring Classes of the Community, and for the Relief and Regulation of the Criminal Poor. 1s.

The State of the Population, the Poor, and Poor's Rates of every separate Parish within the Bills of Mortality, in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and County of Middlesex. 2s.

A Letter to W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P.

on the proposed Abolition of the Slave Trade By W. Smith, Esq. 1s.

A Short Enquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and past Effects of the Poor Laws. By one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for three Inland Counties. 8vo. 8s.

Observations on the Necessity of Introducing a number of Clergymen into our Colonies in the West Indies, and the Expediency of establishing for that Purpose, by Subscription, a College in this Country, in which Persons may be fully educated. 1s.

Travels in the Year 1806, from Italy to England, through the Tyrol, Styria, Bohemia, Galicia, Poland, and Russia; containing the Particulars of the Liberation of Mrs. Spencer Smith from the Hands of the French Police, and of her subsequent Flight through the Countries above-mentioned, effected and written by the Marquis de Salvo, Member of the Academy of Sciences and Literature of Turin, &c. 6s.

The Stranger in America. By Charles William Janson, Esq. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Illustration of the Scenery of Killarney, the surrounding Country, and a considerable part of the Southern Coast of Ireland. By Isaac Weld, Esq. M. I. R. A. 4to. 2l. 2s.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

On the 14th inst. a very numerous and highly respectable meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, was held at Free Mason's Hall, for the purpose of concerting means for improving the opportunity presented by the abolition of the Slave Trade, for promoting innocent commerce and civilization in Africa.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who took the chair on the occasion, opened the business of the day in a manner highly honourable to him. He congratulated the meeting on that great and happy event, the abolition of the Slave Trade, adverted in terms of warm eulogy to the merits of Mr. Wilberforce, and pointed out the advantageous opportunity, which was now presented, of attempting to introduce into Africa a beneficent

commerce, agriculture, and the other arts of social life; and concluded with proposing to the meeting for their adoption, the following resolutions, which he had received from Mr. Wilberforce, viz.

"1st. That this Meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and, from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness.

"That the approaching cessation of the Slave Trade, hitherto carried on by Great Britain, America, and Denmark, will, in a considerable degree, remove the barrier which has so long obstructed the natural course of social improvement in Africa; and that the way will be thereby opened for introducing the comforts and arts of a more civilized state of society.

"3d. That the happiest effects may be

reasonably anticipated, from diffusing useful knowledge, and exciting industry among the inhabitants of Africa, and from obtaining, and circulating throughout this country, more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial faculties of that vast Continent; and that, through the judicious prosecution of these benevolent endeavours, we may ultimately look forward to the establishment, in the room of that traffic by which the African Continent has been so long degraded, of a legitimate, and far more extended commerce, beneficial alike to the natives of Africa, and to the manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland.

"4th. That the present period is eminently fitted for prosecuting these benevolent designs; since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave Trade, which has commonly been carried on by France, Spain, and Holland, will, when combined with the effect of the Abolition Laws of Great Britain, America, and Denmark, produce nearly the entire cessation of that traffic, along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby afford a peculiarly favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa.

"5th. That for these purposes a Society be immediately formed, to be called The African Institution.

"6th. That the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the United Kingdom, be generally invited to become Members thereof; and that a Subscription be opened in the Metropolis, and all the Cities and Chief Towns in Great Britain and Ireland, for supplying the Expences of the Institution."

These resolutions were seconded by Earl SPENCER, who signified his cordial concurrence in the objects of the meeting; and his satisfaction at seeing so large and respectable a body convened for so noble a purpose. He had been the more anxious thus publicly to testify his approbation of their design, as he had been prevented by illness from contributing his aid to the bill for abolishing the Slave Trade, a measure in the highest degree honourable to the national character.

Mr. WILBERFORCE briefly explained the general objects of the proposed institution, the detail of which was obviously fitter for a

committee. He trusted it would be found practicable, by making or encouraging attempts at improvement, on a small scale, in different parts of the coast, to give examples of successful industry, and moral and intellectual improvement, which might soon be widely imitated and extended, to the unspeakable future happiness of Africa, and the great benefit of our own manufacturing and commercial interests. He concluded with moving the following resolutions in addition to those already submitted to the meeting, viz.

"7th. That His Royal Highness the Duke of GLOUCESTER be requested to do the Society the honour of accepting the Office of Patron.

"8th. That a Committee be immediately appointed to draw up Laws and Regulations for the government of the Society, and to report the same to a General Meeting, to be held for that purpose at Freemasons' Hall, on the 12th of May next.

"9th. That the following Noblemen and Gentlemen be requested to be Members of the said Committee:—

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester; Earls Spencer, Moira, and Euston; Viscounts Howick and Valentia; the Bishops of London, Durham, Bath and Wells, and St. David's; Lords Grenville, Ellenborough, Erskine, Holland, Teignmouth, Headley, and Henry Petty; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Hon. T. Grenville, G. Canning, J. C. Villiers, Sir J. Newport, J. Foster, J. Smyth, and N. Vansittart; Sir P. Francis, Sir S. Romilly, General Vyse; Messrs. Bankes, Babington, Baring, J. H. Browne, Barry, Grant, Huskisson, Lushington, Montague, W. M. Pitt, Roscoe, Sharp, Simeon, R. Thornton, H. Thornton, Whitbread and Wilberforce, (Members of Parliament); and Messrs. Bernard, Barclay, Brougham, Clarkson, Gisborne (Rev.) Martin, Morritt, Macaulay, G. Sharp, W. Smith, Stephen, and Venn (Rev.)

All these resolutions were put and unanimously carried, after which several resolutions of thanks to Messrs. Wilberforce, G. Sharp, and Clarkson, for their unwearied exertion in the cause of Africa, were moved and agreed to with general applause.

The business of the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the

Duke of Gloucester, which was moved by Mr. Wilberforce, and received by the meeting in a manner which manifested the strong sense they entertained of the zealous support his Royal Highness had given to the cause of Africa in parliament, and of the honour he had done the institution in consenting to accept the office of patron. His Royal Highness expressed his high sense of the honour done him, and declared that it should be his constant endeavour to promote, to the utmost of his power, the noble and interesting objects of the institution.

The meeting adjourned to Tuesday the 12th of May, when a still more numerous meeting of the friends of civilization and social improvement in Africa is expected to take place.

It is impossible for the Christian Observer to contemplate the formation of such an institution as this without the most lively emotions of satisfaction; and the distinguished patronage under which it has commenced, together with the favourable manner in which it has been received by the public, seem to encourage the hope, that, through the divine blessing, it may be instrumental in an eminent degree in making reparation to Africa for her multiplied injuries. That such an institution has powerful claims on the justice and benevolence of this country, it would be a waste of the time of our readers formally to prove. The spontaneous sentiments of every Christian will long since have decided that question. He will feel the obligation which lies not merely on his country in general, but on himself in particular, to contribute to the noble ends which are proposed by this association. The present wretched and degraded condition of Africa is in a peculiar degree to be attributed to this country; and the refusal to concur in any rational attempt to raise her from that condition would be a dereliction of those great principles on which the legislative abolition of the African Slave

Trade has been effected. This we believe to be a very general feeling among religious persons; and we understand that it has impressed itself so strongly on the minds of many, as to lead them to agree to set apart a day on which they may unite, throughout the kingdom, in expressing their thanks to the great Author of all good for the unexpected success with which it has pleased him to crown the labours of those who had undertaken the cause of Africa in parliament; and in imploring his providential favour and blessing in behalf of any endeavours which may be used to ameliorate the social and moral state of the inhabitants of that continent. Our readers will be prepared to expect that such a proposal; a proposal which the whole tenor of our work will shew to be in unison with our own feelings; should meet with no discouragement from us. On the contrary, we are disposed to hail it as a pleasing indication of the interest which the public, and more especially the religious public, are likely to take in every benevolent scheme which may be formed for the benefit of Africa and her much injured race. We very readily, therefore, comply with the desire which has been expressed to us of informing our readers that it is the intention of a large body of persons, both in and out of the establishment, to consider the first Sunday in June next, as a day on which they may unite, both in their closets and in their families, in offering up their devout acknowledgments to the Almighty for having relieved Great Britain from the disgrace and pollution, and Africa from the misery of this guilty commerce; and for having thus opened a way for the admission of civilization, liberty, and Christian light, into that immense continent, which our crimes have so long and so largely contributed to retain in "ignorance, degradation, bondage, and blood;" and on which they may present their earnest supplications to the throne of grace, for the divine blessing on

the means which may be employed for improving this great event, and for conveying knowledge and happiness to the inhabitants of Africa, and to the enslaved population of our islands.

We would merely suggest to those who have conceived, or who may adopt this idea, that on such an occasion, the Institution of which we have now given an account, and the various societies which have been formed for extending the kingdom of our Redeemer, not only in Africa, but throughout the earth, will claim a share in their prayers. They may also unite in calling down the best blessings of heaven on the heads of those friends of God and man, who, for so many years, unmoved by reproach, unwearied by difficulty, and unshaken even by defeat and disappointment, have persevered in this great contest, till it has issued in final victory. Nor on such an occasion will his king and his country be forgotten by the Christian. He will ardently implore for them the favour of the King of Kings. Regarding the abolition of the Slave Trade as a signal token of the kind intentions of heaven towards this nation, he will pray that we may proceed with undeviating steps in the march of wisdom, justice, benevolence, and mercy, until every chain which our unfeeling avarice has forged is broken, and until every dark corner in this and the sister kingdom, and in every distant land which owns our dominion, is enlightened by the beams of divine truth.

How far the clergy will feel themselves at liberty, in their public discourses, to take notice of the abolition of the Slave Trade, must be left to their own judgment. Where this can be done, it might serve at least the purpose of impressing on the minds of their people, the immense debt of humanity and justice which this country has contracted to Africa, and the consequent obligation which is imposed on every member of the community to contribute to

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its discharge, even if he can do so in no other way yet by his prayers. But whether on that or any other occasion ministers shall make a call on the liberality of their people, with a view to promote the benefit of Africa, must also be left to their own discretion. Such a contribution would doubtless form a very suitable part of the devotions of any day; and it might be applied, according to the inclination of the donors, in aid of the funds either of the AFRICAN INSTITUTION, the SOCIETY FOR MISSIONS TO AFRICA, or some other Society which embraces African purposes.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

We are desired to state, that on Wednesday the 6th of May, the British and Foreign Bible Society will hold their third annual meeting at the New London Tavern, Cheapside. The proceedings of the committee during the last year in carrying into effect the important object of the institution, both at home and abroad, will then be reported; and highly interesting intelligence on the circulation of the Scriptures from various parts of the world will be communicated to the members of the Society, and to such other friends to the Holy Scriptures as may be disposed to give their attendance on the occasion. The Right Hon. the President will take the chair at 12 o'clock precisely.

BENGAL.

Accounts relative to the Baptist Mission in Bengal have lately appeared, from which we proceed to make a few extracts. The following is a general letter from the Missionaries to the Society, dated Aug. 6, 1805.

"We are aware that many missions have been established for a time, and then given up; and that others have been continued, which yet have never made a powerful impression on the body of the people. We pray God that neither of these events may be the result of our labours; but that we may be instrumental

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in so putting the gospel into the hands and hearts of the Hindoos, as that they may not very long stand in need of the assistance of foreigners.

"In order to insure, as far as our powers extend, the universal diffusion of gospel light, we have, as you know, been long employed in translating, printing, and circulating the oracles of God, knowing that this is a seed which can never perish, be the soil ever so barren, and the seasons ever so unfavourable. The progress made in this work calls for many thanks to HIM who is eminently styled THE WORD OF GOD. By these means, and the circulation of tracts, knowledge spreads wide and fast. Further to accomplish this great object, we are now forming subordinate stations in different parts of the country, that, should any thing happen to the work at Serampore, the cause may live and spread from other quarters. With this object in view we also encourage the gifts of our native brethren; and to put them forward in publishing the word of the Lord, we inculcate upon them that this is *their* cause, and that it is *their* country which is sinking into ruin beneath the load of abominable idolatry. Further: We have done as much as in us lies to promote a disposition to read among the natives at large, by establishing schools; and in this part of our labours we have been assisted by several benevolent Europeans.

"We have begun to translate the sacred Scriptures into the Orissa, Mahratta, Persian, and Hindoostana languages. A beginning is made in printing the Mahratta New Testament, and a font of types for the Orissa is partly cut. We have long had it in mind to station a brother in Orissa, near to the temple of Juggernaut. We think of doing this in a short time. These types will then be of great importance.

"Since the 25th of March, five persons have been added; and though we have not been without trials respecting our members, yet we have had less necessity to exercise painful discipline than in some former periods.

"We have all had our health in a great measure preserved. In those cases in which it was affected for a short time, God graciously interfered, and removed every complaint."

On the 25th of December, 1805, they thus write:

"— It is with pleasure, dear bre-

thren, that we again address you. Since we wrote last, the goodness of God has been such towards us, that our hearts are inspired with renewed zeal to go forward in his work.

"Though our successes come greatly short of our desires, yet we have abundant reason to bless the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he still permits us to labour for him, and does not leave us without some pleasing testimonies of his approbation. *Twenty-one* have been baptized and added to us during the last three months. You may easily suppose that these additions fill us with hope and encouragement. Some of them meet with a good deal of opposition; but they seem to bear it well, which encourages us to hope that they are the real followers of Christ. This has been such a season as we have never witnessed before in this country. Bless the Lord, oh our souls; and all that is within us, bless his holy name!

"Our brethren Moore, William Carey, and some of the natives, have itinerated as far as Dhacca, and distributed many thousands of papers. Brother Ward and brother Mardon have also gone into Jessore, with a view, if possible, to fix upon a new missionary station, where the latter might reside. They thought *Sahib-gunge* an eligible situation, being a very populous part of the country; but were not able fully to execute their plan. We hope it may, nevertheless, be accomplished."

This last letter is dated on the 21st of March, 1806. They observe in it, that,

"The church received last year an addition of *thirty-four* members, thirty-one of whom are natives. Three of them are at this time suspended from communion; but we have hopes of two of them at least being speedily restored. Since the beginning of the year we have baptized *eight* persons.

"At present we have several enquirers, one of whom comes from near Benares. The church at Serampore now consists of *eighty-two* members, whose walk and conversation, with a few exceptions, afford us much pleasure. We are sorry to inform you that *Krishno Presaud* has been ill for several months; and if he does not soon recover, we are doubtful, from the nature of his disorder, whether we shall not be called to mourn the loss of that valuable

brother. He is a young man in whom is united, promising talents, with prudence and affection.

"In the beginning of January, brethren Ward, Fernandez, and Moore, went to Saugur Island, a celebrated bathing-place of the Hindoos; and the day after their arrival they were joined by three native brethren, who left Serampore soon after their departure. An immense multitude of people were assembled at the Island, amongst whom they preached, and distributed pamphlets.

"A new church has been formed for Dinagepore. On Feb. 26, brother Fernandez, sister Biss, with two of her children, and three native members of the Dinagepore church, left Serampore. They preached and distributed tracts in their way, and the people were eager to hear and read.

"Brother Chamberlain's active exertions afford us much pleasure. He has frequently an opportunity of preaching to large assemblies, and is often employed in preaching and distributing tracts for hours together. We hope our brother will soon see with joy the fruits of his labours at Cutwa. He has baptized the wife of our brother Kangalee. The following is an extract of his letter to us in February.

"The last has been a week of great exertion and of great affliction. Some thousands of people have passed through Cutwa, in their way to (the idol) Jagger-naut; amongst whom Kangalee and I have been very much employed in preaching and distributing tracts. Many will acknowledge that they are going this long

journey for nothing, and yet cannot be dissuaded from it. Last week some great people passed through Cutwa, with an elephant and two horses, a present for the idol. Mr. W. and myself, went to see them. They behaved with great politeness, and conversed with freedom. One was an elderly man, who had seen the Scriptures, and professed to approve of them.'

"Extract of a letter from him in March — 'I informed you in my last that I was going to Keble-eshor. Brother Kangalee and I went, and were absent from home four days. There was a vast concourse of people: they heard the word with great attention. We were two days amongst them, and distributed, I cannot say how many, perhaps five thousand tracts. Last Lord's day week was a great day among the Hindoos. Few less, perhaps more, than twenty thousand people were at Cutwa, to bathe in Gonga, among whom we were engaged four days without intermission. The people among whom we were to-day, were generally intelligent, and could read and write. Two or three disputed. This evening, reviewing the work of the day, I gave thanks to God with a heart full of joy. What a pleasure to be able to preach to a hundred villagers at once, and to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to thousands in a day!'"

"Our beloved brother Fernandez has appropriated 10,000 rupees to the mission. He wished the brethren to accept the sum immediately; but this we declined: he however applies the interest to the support of the mission.

(To be continued.)

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

CONTINENTAL INTELLIGENCE.

No decisive engagement has yet taken place between the hostile armies which are opposed to each other in Poland; though, from the situation which they respectively occupied, one was speedily expected. Both sides appear to be intent on concentrating all the force which they can bring together, before they venture to put to risk the mighty stake of empire for which they are contending. Large reinforcements are said to have joined the Russian armies; and Bonaparte, induced

by this circumstance, and probably also by the waste of troops which he has lately sustained, has abandoned the projected siege of Stralsund in Pomerania, and has ordered all the troops in the rear of his present position to join him without delay. But the most satisfactory proof of the weakness of the French, or rather of the powerful resistance which they have met with from the allied armies in Poland, is to be found in Bonaparte's recent message to the Senate, wherein (before the first three months of 1807 are expired) he directs

them to call out, without delay, the conscription of 1808. Among other reasons for this extraordinary measure, we find a levy by England of 200,000 men particularly insisted on. He alludes, doubtless, to the calling out and disciplining of a part of our population under the training act; a measure which appears to make more noise on the banks of the Vistula than on those of the Thames. This decree for anticipating the conscription of 1808 is said to be executed with uncommon rigour and dispatch throughout the different departments of France, and to cause there very serious murmurs. But notwithstanding these vast preparations, the rumours of a negociation between Russia and France become more frequent. Bonaparte is obviously very desirous of peace at the present moment. His message to the Senate expresses his readiness to grant to England and Russia peace on the same terms which were last year rejected at Paris. His policy will probably be to tempt the latter power to suspend hostilities by large offers; and if he can thus succeed in detaching Russia from the confederacy, he will extricate himself from his present difficulties, and have time to organize fresh plans of plunder and encroachment.

War may now be considered as actually subsisting, though it be not formally declared, between England and the Porte. On the refusal of that power to dismiss the French envoy, Sebastiani, from Constantinople, and to renew its former treaties with Russia and this country, an English squadron appeared before Constantinople, and notwithstanding some resistance from the forts, passed the Dardanelles. If we may believe the French accounts, this fleet has found itself under the necessity of repassing those straits, without effecting its purpose of intimidating the Porte into a compliance with the demands of England. No official report of the affair has yet arrived, the vessel carrying Sir J. Duckworth's dispatches having been captured by the Spaniards.

Spain has professed to adopt in their full extent the interdictions decreed by Bonaparte against British commerce and manufactures.

Some commercial regulations have lately been adopted by Russia, which are supposed to have an unfriendly aspect towards this country. There is, however, good reason to hope that such a modification of them may be obtained, as will obviate the apprehensions of our merchants on that subject.

EAST INDIES.

Very serious disturbances appear to have broken out among our native troops on the Madras establishment. The immediate cause of these is supposed to have been some petty alteration in the dress of the Seapoys, which was prescribed by the commander in chief, but which was regarded by them as an infringement of their religious liberties. At Vellore they broke out into open revolt, and murdered several officers; and it was believed that the sons of the late Tippoo Sultan, who resided at that place, may have fermented the disaffection. They have since been removed to Bengal. A hope was entertained, when the last accounts left India, that the spirit of insubordination had been effectually suppressed.

SOUTH AMERICA.

On the 4th of February, the fortress and city of Monte Video, in the Rio Plata, were taken by assault by his Majesty's troops, under the command of General Achmuty, after a most determined resistance. Our loss on the occasion was considerable, amounting in killed and wounded to about 560. Among the killed were Lieutenant Colonels Vassal and Brownrigg, and Major Dalrymple. The achievement of this conquest, however creditable to British valour, we greatly fear will not be attended with those beneficial consequences which many have conceived would result from it. The enmity of the Spaniards in that quarter towards us appears to be deep rooted; and whatever momentary superiority we may acquire, it can hardly be expected that we should long retain it in opposition to the force of a large continent, which the Spanish government may direct against us. And even if we should succeed in maintaining our present conquest, we shall probably find it useless for any purpose of commercial advantage, while the power of the government and the hatred of the people combine to obstruct our progress.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

It is generally believed, that some impediment has arisen in America to the acceptance of the treaty with this country which was lately sent over. Mr. Jefferson is reported to have expressed himself so much dissatisfied with it, as not even to intend to submit it to the consideration of the Senate.

The newspapers of America are filled

with accounts of the measures which have been taken by the government to prevent and punish a project supposed to have been formed by Colonel Burr, formerly Vice President of the United States, for detaching a portion of the Western territory from the Union, erecting it into a sovereignty for himself, and employing its force against Spanish America. A variety of processes have been instituted against him in the courts of law, but hitherto without throwing light on the transaction, or affording any proof of the alleged criminality. There appears, however, very generally to pre-

vail throughout America a belief that some such plan has been in the contemplation of Burr, and that he has even been employed in preparing the means for carrying it into execution.

ST. DOMINGO.

The peace of this island has been lately disturbed by the dissensions of two rival chiefs, Christophe and Petion; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of their difference, to warrant our giving any details, or pronouncing any opinion respecting it.

GREAT BRITAIN.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

THE only very interesting circumstance in the parliamentary proceedings of the present month, has been the attempts made by the friends of the late ministry to procure a vote of the two Houses of Parliament, which should express dissatisfaction with the late change of administration. On the 11th inst. Mr. Brand moved a resolution in the House of Commons, declaring that it was subversive of the principles of the constitution, for his Majesty's ministers to restrain themselves by any pledge from giving to his Majesty such advice as they should deem in their consciences to be conducive to the security of the realm, the honour of the crown, or the well being of the subject. This motion, after a long and animated debate, was negatived by a majority of 258 to 226, on the ground chiefly, that admitting it to be wrong in Ministers to restrain themselves by any such pledge, yet it was unprecedented and most unconstitutional to propose a vote, which must be regarded in no other light than as a vote of censure on his conduct, and which went to shackle the free exercise of the prerogative of the Crown in the choice of Ministers. On the 13th inst. the Marquis of Stafford moved a resolution in the House of Lords, expressive of the regret of the House at the recent change in his Majesty's Councils, and condemning, as in the motion of Mr. Brand, the giving of any pledge to withhold advice on any point which Ministers might think involved the honour and security of the country. This motion was negatived by a majority of 170 to 90. On the 15th, Mr. Lyttleton renewed the agitation of the same question

in the House of Commons by a motion of a similar kind, but somewhat varied in its form, which, after a long debate, was also decided in the negative — 244 voting against, and 198 for the question. On these different occasions Lord Sidmouth and his friends voted with the present administration. It is greatly to be regretted, that, at a crisis like the present, when the whole energies of the nation ought to be concentrated for its defence and security, the time of the legislature, and the talents of its members, should be wasted in such unprofitable debates.

In consequence of a report from the Committee of Finance, a very salutary resolution was moved and carried in the House of Commons, to prevent in future the granting of any places in reversion. In the course of the debate it was asserted of the late administration, that, although they had had several opportunities of granting valuable places in reversion, they had uniformly refrained from doing so. A rumour having got abroad, that it was intended to grant to Mr. Perceval, as an inducement to accept the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster for life, this being a place usually held only during pleasure, an address to his Majesty was moved and carried, requesting him not to grant for life any offices which had hitherto been granted only during pleasure.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the commanders, officers, soldiers, and seamen, concerned in the capture of Monte Video.

The bill for reforming the Scotch system of jurisprudence has met with much oppo-

sition since the administration has been changed. Unquestionably there is no part of our interior economy which stands more in need of correction than this.

Sir Christopher Hawkins having been found guilty, by the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to try the merits of the election for Penryn, of bribery and corruption, an address has been presented to his Majesty, praying him to direct the Attorney General to institute a prosecution against that Baronet.

On the 24th inst. a discussion took place in the House of Commons respecting the education of the poor, in consequence of a motion being made by Mr. Whitbread, that his bill on that subject should be committed. The motion was agreed to, but not without strong symptoms of a disposition in many members to oppose its farther progress. Mr. Windham, on this occasion, employed the same wit and ingenuity which he formerly exerted in defence of Bull-baiting and the African Slave Trade, in proving the injurious tendency of a system of instruction for the poor. He saw a stronger probability of their imbibing error than truth, if a knowledge of letters were generally afforded them. They would be more accessible in that case to the interested and designing. He maintained, that the idea of curing either their poverty or their immorality, by teaching them to read, was altogether visionary; and that we might just as reasonably hope to effect a cure by teaching them to play the fiddle. What could the most dexterous advocate of the Romish Church have urged that was better calculated to defend its usurpations over the minds of men, and that system of blindness and ignorance by which those usurpations are upheld?

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

The arrangements for the new Ministry are now completed. The Treasury Board consists of the Duke of Portland, first Lord, Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Marquis of Titchfield, Hon. W. Elliot, and Mr. Sturges Bourne. Sir James Pulteney is appointed Secretary at War; the Duke of Richmond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and the Duke of Montrose, Master of the Horse. The Lords of the Admiralty are, Lord Mulgrave, First Lord, Admiral Gambier, Admiral Bickerton, Lord Palmerston, Messrs. W. J. Hope, R. Ward, and J. Buller. The

Board of Controul for India consists of Mr. Robert Dundas, President, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Lovaine, Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Johnstone, together with the great officers of State.

The Earl of Pembroke is appointed ambassador to the Court of Vienna, and Lord G. L. Gower to that of Petersburg.

Viscount Lowther is created Earl Lonsdale; the Earl of Dalkeith, Baron Tyndale; and the Marquis of Huntley, Baron Gordon.

The Duke of Gordon is made Keeper of the Great Seal in Scotland.

Lord Melville is restored to his seat in the Privy Council.

Admiral Holloway is appointed Governor of Newfoundland; Hugh Elliot, Esq. Governor of Barbadoes; William Lukin, Esq. Governor of Dominica; and Sir James Cockburn, Bart. Governor of Curaçoa.

Charles Grant, Esq. Sweny Toone, Esq. William Thornton, Esq. George Smith, Esq. have been re-elected, and Campbell Majoribanks, Esq. and John Jackson, Esq. elected Directors of the East India Company for the ensuing four years.

A great many addresses have been presented to his Majesty from different towns and counties, thanking him for the noble stand he has made in favour of the Protestant religion, and in support of the independence of the Crown. Among those who have presented addresses on this occasion have been London and Edinburgh, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE.

The Court of Sweden has ordered the river Peene, in the Baltic, to be closely blockaded.

The Ajax 74 has been destroyed by fire. A considerable part of her crew were victims to the flames. The captain has been saved. The Nautilus sloop of war had been wrecked on a barren rock, where many of the crew, including the commander, had been starved to death. The survivors were on board the Ajax at the time of the conflagration.

A fleet of ships, consisting of sixteen, from Madras and Bengal, has arrived in the river.

The Gazette announces, as usual, the capture of several of the enemy's privateers.

DEATHS.

At Alverstoke, near Gosport, aged 74, the Rev. ISAAC MOODY BINGHAM, rector of Birchanger, 1759, and Runwell, 1780, both co. Essex.

At Limerick, the Right Rev. Dr. MICHAEL PETER M'MAHON, Titular Bishop of Killaloe, aged 70 years, more than half of which time he was in that see.

At his house in Kettlewell, Craven, Rev. TENNANT BOLLAND, curate of Hubberholme.

At Barnstaple, Devon, aged 72, Mrs. ANNE HARE, youngest daughter of Dr. Francis Hare, formerly Bishop of Chester.

At Thimbleby, near Horncastle, Mr. FOSTER, farmer and grazier. Returning home from a convivial party, he fell from his horse into a dyke full of water, and, lying there for two or three hours before he

was discovered, caught so violent a cold as to occasion his death.

At Somercoates, near Louth, in her 96th year, Mrs. SMITH.

Miss HOLMES, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, rector of Colesbourn, co. Gloucester.

At Bristol, in her 98th year, Mrs. POMPHREY, relict of George Pomphrey, Esq. formerly of Stoke Bishop. Her only son, Mr. George Pomphrey, died a few weeks before her.

In her 96th year, Mrs. TAYLOR, mother of William Taylor, Esq. of Tillington, co. Hereford.

At Bury, in her 95th year, Mrs. ANNE BURROUGH, a maiden lady, niece of the late Sir J. Burrough, Knight, master of Caius College.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

G. J. C. ; H. O. S. ; and U. ; will appear.

PHILALETHES ; HENRY ; AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER ; RUSTICUS ; C. A. ; A. S. ; and WILLIAM, are received.

LAICUS ; SCRUTANS S. S. ; J. Y. S. R. ; J. M. W. ; GROSIADÉ ; A REAL MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ; PACIFICATOR ; and O. M. R. ; are under consideration.

We can assure J. B. C. that if we had been able to discover any ground for his complaint, we should have thought it our duty to insert his paper. We certainly are of opinion, that the Psalmody of the Church of Scotland is very defective ; but neither we, nor the writer to whom he alludes, could have any intention, by expressing that opinion, to convey a censure on the Church of Scotland.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT IS RESOLVED ON, AND WILL TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY. IT WAS PROROGUED ON THE 27TH. WE HAVE ONLY TIME TO REMIND OUR READERS, THAT IT IS NO LESS IMPORTANT NOW THAN IT WAS BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE ABOLISHED THE SLAVE TRADE, THAT MEN SHOULD BE RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT WHO WILL PREVENT ANY REVERSAL OR COUNTERACTION OF THAT GREAT MEASURE ; AND WHO WILL WATCH OVER ITS EXECUTION, AND PROMOTE ITS EFFICACY.

To the Editor of the Christian Observer.

HEARING that it is the purpose of many persons to join, on some early day, in acknowledging the mercy and kindness of God in having put a period to the Slave Trade, I inclose a form of prayer, which may be added to the customary devotion of individuals or families on that occasion, and which, if you see no objection to it, I will thank you to insert in your miscellany.

PRAYER.

O gracious God, who lookest down from Heaven, the height of thy Sanctuary, to hear the groaning of the prisoner, and to loose those that were appointed to death; we give thee hearty thanks that it has at length pleased thee to put a stop to the Slave Trade, the miseries of which have so long oppressed Africa, and the sin of which has so loudly cried to thee for vengeance upon Europe. Thou delightest in exercising loving kindness, righteousness, and judgment; and blessed be thy name for that spirit of benevolence which thou hast implanted in the hearts of many, leading them to relieve the oppressed; that sense of right which has been awakened in our land; and that regard to justice which has led us to do to others in this instance as we wish that they should do unto us. Cherish and prosper, O Lord, the good work which we trust thou hast begun. Pardon our accumulated and dreadful guilt, and enable us to repay to Africa that heavy debt which we have incurred by the wrongs we have done unto her. May our vessels now sail under thy protection, to bear thither with a guiltless commerce, the blessings of peace and civilization, and the glad tidings of the gospel of thy Son. Give thy blessing to the endeavours used to promote this good purpose, whether by individuals or societies. May their plans be formed with wisdom, executed with sound discretion and persevering zeal, and crowned by thee with signal success. Hasten the time, O Lord, when the Morian's Land shall stretch out her hands unto thee. Pour down thy blessing also we pray thee on our Colonies and West Indian possessions, and may a spirit of justice and equity, of mercy and Christian charity mitigate, and at length put an end to the bondage which still subsists there. Extend thy kindness to our sister kingdom of Ireland, and may the light of thy truth, and the influence of thy peace and love, prevail more and more among all classes of its inhabitants. Put a stop to the ravages of war; disappoint the plans of ambitious and violent men; and may peace and happiness, religion and piety, everywhere abound. Visit with the light of thy Gospel the nations which yet lie in darkness and the shadow of death. May idolatry, superstition, and impiety, be banished from the face of the globe, and the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

Bless, O Lord, our most gracious Sovereign, and every branch of the Royal Family. Direct and prosper all the consultations of our rulers and governors to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and his dominions. And may every person through these realms labour in his station to promote the good of his fellow creatures and the glory of thy holy name.

Finally, we pray thee to accept our unfeigned thanks for all the various privileges and mercies, civil and religious, which we enjoy. We bless thee that we have lived in a day when the cause of humanity and justice has so signally triumphed. Let it be the beginning of a new era in the world, when tyranny and oppression shall every where cease, and righteousness and peace be established throughout the earth. Hear our prayers, we humbly beseech thee, most merciful Father, in Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*